

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME



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THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

BY

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PRELIMINARY NOTE.

IN explanation of the fact, which might at first sight cause surprise, that a paper which consists mainly of a description of paintings is not accompanied by reproductions of the pictures themselves, it is necessary to state that the photographs and other methods by which the appearance of the paintings has been, so far as possible, preserved being the property of the Italian authorities, cannot be published until the official account of the excavations has been issued. The present description must be regarded chiefly as a contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine iconography as it was understood and practised at Rome in the eighth century. It may be added that the damaged condition of all but a few of the pictures makes a careful description almost as valuable for iconographical purposes as reproduction, and that their interest consists rather in the choice and treatment of subjects than in their artistic character.¹

¹ Among those who have assisted me I feel bound to record my peculiar obligations to Comm. Giacomo Boni, the Director of the Excavations in the Forum, whose kindness and sympathy have in every way made my task easier, and also to the Rev. F. E. Brightman of the Pusey House and Mr. C. H. Turner of Magdalen College, Oxford, who took the trouble to look over the proofs, and to whom I am indebted for many suggestions and corrections. Their identification of the fragmentary Patristic inscriptions, and especially Mr. Brightman's discovery of the principle on which they were selected, which is important for determining the chronology of the paintings, may without exaggeration be described as brilliant. Mr. C. H. Blakiston of the British School at Rome has also given me much practical assistance which has contributed in no small degree to such accuracy and completeness as this account possesses.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present series of excavations in the Roman Forum, apart from the topographical importance of the results, will always be notable for the information which it has supplied about periods of which our previous knowledge was scanty. On the one hand there is the evidence which has come to light about the culture of the communities which first settled on the soil of Rome. And at the other end of the history of the Ancient City, the discovery of the church of S. Maria Antiqua has revealed to us the system on which an ordinary Roman church was decorated in the eighth century. That age, of the greatest historical importance, in which Rome emancipated herself from the Byzantine dominion and became the religious capital of the West, was one of the periods where we were poorest in all those kinds of evidence which are called antiquities. Rich as it was originally in contemporary monuments and treasures of art, the destructions and reconstructions which have gone on down to modern times, have obliterated nearly every trace of the outward appearance and surroundings of life in Byzantine Rome. It is on this, to us, mysterious world of the seventh and eighth centuries, so dimly revealed by the meagre historical literature of the time, that a welcome, if partial, ray of light has been shed by the discovery of S. Maria Antiqua. From the ruins of an abandoned church, which never knew the hand of a restorer, the religious interests and tendencies of the Romans of those days, their standards of art and the kind of pictures they were accustomed to see, their dress and personal appearance, their manner of burial, have been brought home to us more vividly than they had ever been previously.

Before proceeding to describe the remains, it will be desirable to sum up what we know of the history of the church from literary sources. At the same time we may note how far the remains bear out that history and in what respects they add to our knowledge. It is no longer necessary to refer to bygone controversies about the site and identity of the church, for an end was put to them by the discovery, on December 20th, 1900, of the inscription giving the name of the church, which will be described in its proper place.

The earliest mention of S. Maria Antiqua that we possess occurs in a list of Roman churches, which was made in the latter part of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth century.¹ When we turn to the *Liber Pontificalis* we are met by a similar result. It is under John VII. (705-707) that the church appears for the first time, and then not, as is so often the case with such notices, in connexion with a restoration of the building, but with its decoration. *Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genetricis qui Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit.*² It is difficult to believe that the *Liber Pontificalis*, with its copious information about the ancient Roman churches, would have been silent about this one if it had existed very long before. If we ask whether the remains as now discovered throw any light on the origin of the church, the principal fact of which we have to take account is that it was established in an ancient building, probably of a public and secular character. Now the practice of converting disused public buildings into churches in the central parts of the City, and more particularly in the Forum and its neighbourhood, did not begin before the sixth century, and, generally speaking, not before the event which most definitely marks the end of the ancient world in Rome—the Byzantine conquest.³ The earliest case is the foundation of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Templum Sacrae Urbis by Felix IV. (526-530). The next is S. Maria Rotunda in the Pantheon, by Boniface IV. (608-615). Then comes S. Adriano in the Curia under Honorius I. (625-638). The conversion of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina into S. Lorenzo in Miranda no doubt belongs to the same age. With this antecedent probability that S. Maria Antiqua did not exist before 550 the remains are perfectly consistent. The earliest dated object which can possibly be connected with the church belongs to the year 572 (p. 108). Some detached architectural fragments may be rather earlier, but their relation to the church is uncertain. Everything else is later.⁴

¹ Printed by De Rossi in *Roma Sotterranea*, i. 143, from the MS. at Vienna (No. 795).

² *Lib. Pont.* i. 385. References to the *Liber Pontificalis* are given by the pages of the edition of Mgr. Duchesne (2 vols. Paris, 1886-1892).

³ Duchesne, *Le Forum Chrétien*, 42.

⁴ I lay no stress on the fact that S. Maria Antiqua was a *diaconia*, for there is no record of the date of its institution as such, and a *diaconia* was sometimes established in a pre-existing church. But it may be pointed out how consistent with the date assigned above to the church (or even a later one) are the conclusions of Duchesne with regard to the *diaconiae*, viz. (1) that they first make their appearance in the seventh century, and (2) that they are distinguished from the older presbyteral titles by their situation in the heart of the City and, frequently, in disused ancient buildings; both indications of a relatively late date: *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1887, 239-242.

There is, in fact, only one argument for ascribing to the church an earlier date than the sixth century, and that is its name. A church known in the seventh century as *Antiqua*, must, it is suggested, have already had a long existence, especially when we remember that one of the oldest churches in Rome, S. Maria Maggiore, was also dedicated to the Virgin, at least since the time of Xystus III. (432-440). Must not S. Maria Antiqua be older still?¹

No arguments drawn merely from the name can have any weight against the facts stated above. That name, it must be confessed, has not been satisfactorily explained. The epithet "old" applied in this way to buildings is of course relative. The natural usage would be to call a church "Old St. Mary's" when a younger church of the same name had to be distinguished from it. But the difficulty here is that, as we shall see, "New St. Mary's" was the name of the church which replaced the older one in the ninth century. They never existed side by side.² The title, then, must distinguish the church in some way from the other dedications to the Virgin in Rome. The seventh or eighth-century list of Roman churches, to which we have already referred as containing the earliest mention of S. Maria Antiqua, begins with the following order: the Lateran Basilica, S. Maria Maior, S. Anastasia, S. Maria Antiqua, S. Maria Rotunda, S. Maria Transtiberis. Mgr. Duchesne has pointed out that while the list is naturally headed by the two greater Basilicas within the walls, followed by the Court Church or Chapel Royal of the Byzantine age, the order of the remainder is that neither of dignity nor of date. S. Maria in Trastevere existed at least since the middle of the fourth century, and it was a presbyteral title, whereas S. Maria Antiqua was only a *diaconia*. But the original name of the church beyond the Tiber was the *Titulus* or *Basilica Iulii* or *Callisti*. *S. Maria trans Tiberim* does not appear before the seventh century.³ So that, if we were to assume (as we have shown that we are warranted in doing) that S. Maria Antiqua was founded in the latter half of the sixth century, we might suppose that the churches are given in the order of the dates when they were dedicated to the Virgin: viz. S. Maria

¹ H. Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, Jan. 1901, p. 232. O. Marucchi, *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, vi. (1900), 313.

² On the other hand, pilgrims who visited the Vatican Basilica in the eighth century passed from the shrine *sanctae Mariae quae antiqua dicitur* *ad sanctam Mariam quae nova dicitur*. De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 228.

³ *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1897, 28 sqq.

Antiqua, and S. Maria Rotunda, *ab initio* in the sixth and early seventh century, and S. Maria in Trastevere on acquiring the title in the course of the seventh century. We might then go on to conjecture that S. Maria Antiqua was so called because it was the first church in Rome to be dedicated from the beginning to the Virgin, and this would imply that, until the creation of other churches with the same name, it was known as S. Maria simply. Unfortunately this is true of an older church, for when the Basilica Liberiana (S. Maria Maggiore) was reconstructed by Xystus III. (432-440), it was formally dedicated to the Virgin, as is shown by the contemporary inscription beginning:—

Virgo Maria tibi Xystus nova templa dicavi;¹

and for long afterwards it was regularly described as *S. Maria* simply, because it was the only church in Rome dedicated to the Virgin. By the seventh century, on the other hand, it always has the qualification *Maior* or *Ad Praesepe*, because it had then become necessary to distinguish it.² Unless then we can accept the incredible suggestion that a public building, probably part of the Imperial Palace, was converted into a church, and that church dedicated to St. Mary, before the second quarter of the fifth century, we are apparently brought to the conclusion that S. Maria Antiqua was not so called because it was the oldest dedication to the Virgin in Rome. No other plausible explanation has been offered.³

From the *Liber Pontificalis* we learn something about the history of the church in the eighth and ninth centuries, and we are able to supplement these notices from the remains which have now been discovered. As we have already mentioned, it is with John VII. (705-707) that our information begins. He stands out in a dark age as the author of various artistic works in Rome, of which the most important were the mosaics of the Chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's, now scattered or destroyed.⁴ His Life tells us that, among other churches which he adorned with pictures, *basilicam sanctae Dei genetricis qui Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit, illicque ambonem noviter*

¹ De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 71.

² Duchesne, *l.c.* p. 30.

³ Duchesne (*l.c.* p. 29) makes two suggestions: (1) That the name refers to the *diaconia* as being, presumably, the oldest: but we know nothing about its precise date. (2) That it belongs to a picture in the Church, citing a statement of the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. p. 419) that Gregory III. encased in silver *imaginem sancte Dei Genetricis antiquam*. So Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, March, 1901, p. 738. But the *Liber Pontificalis* gives no clue as to where the picture was.

⁴ *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

fecit.¹ We shall see what is left of these works when we come to describe the remains (p. 65). The Life, continuing, tells us a fact which explains the interest taken by John in an otherwise not very important church. *Et super eandem ecclesiam episcopium quantum ad se construere maluit, illicque pontificati sui tempus vitam finivit.* John was the son of a Byzantine official, Plato, the curator of the Imperial Palace at Rome, and after his father's death in 687 he placed an epitaph over his tomb in S. Anastasia, which contained the following lines :

*Post ergo multiplices quas prisca palatia Romae
praestiterant curas, longo refecta gradu,
pergit ad aeterni divina palatia regis
sumere cum meritis praemia firma Dei.*²

The staircase restored by Plato must not be confused with the incline communicating with the church (p. 21), which could not well be described as *gradus*. It refers no doubt to the long flight of steps which can still be traced descending from the northern angle of the Palatine to the Forum. It is possible that John may simply have restored and enlarged his father's house, when he is said to have built himself a private residence (*episcopium quantum ad se*) at this corner of the Palatine.³ In any case the proximity of the church, with the convenient access provided by the incline above mentioned, and the special devotion to the Virgin of John, "the servant of Mary," as he calls himself on his monuments (p. 91), are amply sufficient to explain his interest in S. Maria Antiqua.

But though John VII. may have been the first to decorate the church as a whole, the remains show (p. 67) that the Sanctuary at least had not been left bare before his time. Moreover, as we shall see (p. 72), this earlier series of paintings contains an important piece of evidence as to its date. Four Fathers of the Church are represented with quotations from their works ; and, given the circumstances of time and place, we can hardly doubt that they have been selected because they were cited as witnesses to the Orthodox Faith at the Lateran Council of 649 which condemned the Monothelete heresy. It is difficult to believe that John VII. would, about the year 706, have replaced these pictures by others if they had been very

¹ *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

² De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 442, l. 9.

³ Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 156, where the references are given.

recent, and we may therefore suppose that they were executed shortly after the Council, say between 650 and 655. But we shall find (p. 67) that these paintings of the middle of the seventh century had themselves been substituted for an earlier series. Now if the pictures of the middle of the seventh century were replaced after about fifty years by the work of John VII., and if the latter was partly replaced in its turn, as we shall see (below and p. 73), again after an interval of fifty years, it seems not unreasonable to find in this regularly recurring interval of time a clue to the approximate date of the earliest decorations of the church, which must have followed, though perhaps not immediately, on its foundation.¹ And this will take us back to the year 600, which is not very far removed from the date which, on other grounds, we had already suggested for the foundation of the church.

To return to the later history of the church, from about the middle of the eighth century onwards a new series of decorative works, in part replacing those of John VII., was carried out in different parts of the building. One portion of these is distinctly associated with an official of the *diaconia*, Theodotus, in the time of Pope Zacharias (741–752); and another with Paul I. (757–767). It is also possible, as we shall see (p. 103), that Hadrian I., the greatest benefactor to the Roman churches at the end of the eighth century, did not forget S. Maria Antiqua, though the “Book of the Popes” contains no record of the kind. With Hadrian’s successor, Leo III. (795–816), we get another historical reference to the church, for his Life tells us that he placed there *super altare maiore cyburium ex argento purissimo pens. lib. CCXII*.² About fifty years later the church had been abandoned. The first we hear of the change is under Benedict III. (855–858), whose Life informs us that he bestowed various gifts *in basilica beatae Dei genitricis qui vocatur Antiqua, quam a fundamentis Leo papa viam iuxta Sacram construxerat*.³ It is obvious that this cannot refer to the church under the Palatine, which has never been reconstructed and is not on the Via Sacra. In the life of Benedict’s successor, Nicholas I. (858–867), we get the explanation. *Ecclesiam autem Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae que primitus Antiqua nunc autem Nova vocatur quam dominus Leo III. papa a fundamentis construxerat sed picturis*

¹ Cf. the case of S. Maria Nova mentioned below; built before 855, not decorated before 858.

² *Lib. Pont.* ii. 14.

³ *Lib. Pont.* ii. 145. There is no mention of the fact in the Life of Leo IV.

*eam minime decoraverat, iste beatissimus praesul pulchris ac variis fecit depingi coloribus.*¹ S. Maria Nova is the church, better known by its modern name of S. Francesca Romana, overlooking the Forum, and built in the precincts of the Temple of Venus and Rome. It appears then that, for some reason, in the time of Leo IV. (847–855) the *diaconia* of S. Maria Antiqua was transferred to a new building on the Via Sacra, where it still preserved its name until perhaps popular usage demanded that the new structure should be called S. Maria Nova. What that reason was, the condition of the church revealed by the excavations of 1900 sufficiently declares. It was crushed and buried by the fall of the Imperial buildings overhanging the church on the north-western edge of the Palatine. It is improbable that after the disappearance of the Byzantine power in Rome in the course of the eighth century those buildings were kept in repair, so that natural decay would be enough to account for the result. But it is perhaps more than a coincidence that in 847, under Leo IV., Rome suffered from an earthquake of peculiar severity. *Huius beati tempore praesulis terre motus in urbe Roma per indictionem factus est X. ita ut omnia elementa concussa viderentur ab omnibus.*² Though the church was abandoned, its burial was probably not immediate or complete.³ Everything valuable in the way of furniture and fittings was removed, and little was left beyond the pictures on the walls, which have thus survived to show us, in spite of their damaged and fragmentary condition, the manner in which a Roman church was decorated in the eighth century. The outer hall or vestibule did not at first share the fate of the church, and certainly remained in use till a much later period, as is shown by fragments of painting which it contains (pp. 99, 101.) But the rise in the level of the floor, and the desperate attempts to prop up the vault (p. 106), show that here too occupation was maintained with increasing difficulty. Perhaps we shall be safe in dating the final burial of the whole structure from the fire which devastated this part of Rome on its capture by the Normans in 1084, an event which marks the disappearance of the ancient levels in the Forum and its surroundings.⁴

It may be well to conclude this sketch of the history of S. Maria by a few words about the more recent churches which existed in the same neigh-

¹ *Lib. Pont.* ii. 158.

² *Lib. Pont.* ii. 108. The tenth indiction ended on Aug. 31st, 847.

³ Perhaps this accounts for the repetition in the outer parts of the church of paintings found also in the interior (cf. esp. p. 110).

⁴ Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 245.

bourhood. Even since Duchesne's convincing statement of the evidence,¹ attempts have been made, in the light of the new discoveries, to connect these later names with a tradition of the buried building, in our judgment quite without success.² There was no need to preserve a tradition of the church, for it existed bodily on its new site. S. Francesca Romana, and not (till the other day) S. Maria Liberatrice, is the modern representative of S. Maria Antiqua. The Einsiedeln Itinerary, of the ninth century, is the last document which notices the church in its original position.³ When we come to the twelfth century, the guide book known as the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* has the following account of the buildings in this district. *Palatium Catiline, ubi fuit ecclesia S. Antonii, iuxta quam est locus qui dicitur infernus*. The latter is explained by the story of the *lacus Curtius*, and then the account continues: *ibi est templum Veste ubi dicitur inferius draco cubare, sicut legitur in vita S. Silvestri*.⁴ If we could be sure that by the *palatium Catiline* the Temple of Augustus was meant, we might suppose that the first statement was a genuine tradition of the use of the outer hall as a church after the original S. Maria Antiqua had been destroyed. As we shall see, there are remains of late painting with the story of St. Antony in this part and, perhaps, in the adjacent building (pp. 95, 113 n.), and Greek monks perhaps continued to occupy the interior of the Temple of Augustus which communicated with it. In any case, it is clear that by the twelfth century there was no longer a church of St. Antony in existence. Quite distinct from this, though not far off, was a spot popularly connected with the legend of St. Silvester, and known as *Infernus* or "Hell." Duchesne has shown how the scene of the original story of the dragon of the Capitol in the fifth-century Life of Silvester, was, by a misunderstanding, transferred in the Middle Ages to the Temple of Vesta under the Palatine.⁵ The legend bore fruit, for in a fourteenth-century catalogue of the Roman churches we hear for the first time of *S. Maria de Inferno*,⁶ and this church continued to exist under its more modern name of S. Maria Liberatrice until it was removed for the purpose

¹ *Mélanges*, 1897, 15 sqq.

² E.g. Marucchi, in *N. Bull. Arch. Cr.* vii. (1900), 319; Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, March, 1901, 736 (suggesting that the picture described below, p. 102, marks the site of *S. Silvester in lacu*).

³ Jordan, *Topographie*, ii. 655; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, 75.

⁴ Jordan, *Top.* ii. 635.

⁵ *Mélanges*, 1897, 13, sqq.

⁶ MS. at Turin. Printed in Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 53.

of making the present excavations. It is not till even later (the sixteenth century) that *S. Silvester in lacu* makes its appearance.¹ Perhaps, as Duchesne suggests, it was never a separate church, but only a popular name for *S. Maria de Inferno*, and a survival of the legend which had become attached to the spot.

Let us now consider, as briefly as possible, how the discovery of the church has added to our knowledge of the times to which it belongs. Those times, it is needless to insist, were distinguished by the prevalence of Byzantine influences in Rome. Greek officials, Greek clergy, Greek monks, Greek residents, contributed to form, as it were, a Byzantine army of occupation; they invaded the churches and even the Papal Chair, and naturally they brought with them the ideas, the language, the culture of Constantinople, the capital of European civilisation.² And the first impression which the interior of *S. Maria Antiqua* makes on an observer familiar with the older Roman churches, is that of the prominence of things Greek. Greek inscriptions, Greek costumes, Greek saints, meet the eye everywhere. And it is not merely that *S. Maria* reflects the contemporary Byzantine influences in Rome generally. We must remember that it is structurally connected with the Palatine, the seat of the Byzantine government; that it is a stone's throw from *S. Anastasia*, the official Byzantine church, and on the edge of the Greek quarter, which had its centre in the not far distant church of *S. Maria in Cosmedin*.³ Brought thus by the circumstances of both time and place within the range of Byzantine influence, the church was decorated in that style of art which is most conveniently and correctly described as Byzantine. But a closer acquaintance with the pictures shows us that this is Byzantine art with a difference. Just as, politically, the Rome of the seventh and eighth centuries was dependent on Constantinople and yet successfully struggling for independence, so the wall paintings of *S. Maria Antiqua* show us a Byzantine art transplanted to the West and acquiring something of a local character in consequence. It must not be supposed that this partial

¹ Jordan, *Topographie*, ii. 500; Duchesne, *l.c.* 17. If it were not for the difficulties of date, one might have been inclined to look for *S. Silvester* in the building (L on the plan: cf. p. 108) between the entrance to the church and the *Lacus Iuturnae*.

² Diehl, *Études sur l'Administration Byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, 241 sqq.

³ Diehl, 278.

independence implied any fresh artistic impulse: quite the reverse. Centuries had to elapse before a true Italian art could arise, and in the age with which we are concerned Rome was far inferior in culture to Constantinople, and S. Maria was, after all, a church of secondary importance and therefore hardly likely to contain the best work of the time. We must rather look for this local character in the elementary nature of much of the art in the church, in the simplicity and *naïveté* of some of the representations, in the introduction of a certain number of local saints, in the use of Latin alternating with Greek in the inscriptions, and a Latin which is popular and the product of the soil. And further, this independence manifests itself in the general decorative treatment of the church, and the selection and distribution of subjects. Previously our knowledge of art in Rome between the sixth and the tenth centuries was derived almost entirely from the mosaics which have survived in the sanctuaries of a few favoured churches, and here the limited scope and the uniformity of the subjects rendered the information rather barren. S. Maria was not a church of sufficient importance to receive the most costly form of decoration, viz., mosaics; but, on the other hand, in its wall paintings we have, for the first time, a suggestion of the scheme for the complete decoration of an ordinary Roman church in that age. A comparison obviously suggests itself with the scheme laid down in the well-known Byzantine Manual or Guide to Painting which, though its present form does not go back beyond the twelfth century, probably embodies an older tradition.¹ While S. Maria contains much which is explained or illustrated by the Manual, it is also clear that the decoration of the Roman church represents partly an earlier stage of development when there was greater liberty in the choice of arrangement of subjects, partly an entire departure from the principles on which the Byzantine scheme is based. The difference between them is one which essentially distinguishes the churches of the East from those of the West, both in decoration and in internal arrangements: The typical Byzantine church forms a unity in which every part is subordinate to the whole, and the pictorial decoration is equally based on a single and consistent scheme. In plan, S. Maria, as we shall see presently (p. 23), curiously resembles a Byzantine church, and its walls were completely and, to a considerable extent, so far as we can judge, systemati-

¹ First published by Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1845). . English translation by M. Stokes, *Christian Iconography* (London, 1891), ii, 265 *sqq.* There is also a modern Greek edition (Athens, 1885).

cally treated with painting. The Western mediaeval church, with its independent chapels and side-altars clustering round and sometimes even invading the central nave and choir, and making any uniform system of decoration impossible, is the very opposite. S. Maria Antiqua is in process of transformation from an Eastern into a Western church. To start with we have a Byzantine plan and Byzantine consistency of decoration, at least in the main parts of the church. But it is clear that the unity both of arrangements and of decoration is giving way to a different conception. Just as in a Byzantine church, we find the *bema*, where the altar stood in front of the apse, flanked by the liturgical chambers known as the *prothesis* and *diaconicon*; but of the latter, one at least had become by the middle of the eighth century a side-chapel of the Western type with its own altar, and dedicated to the cult of special saints. And in other parts of the church the uniformity of the original scheme of decoration has been broken into by the construction of altars, sometimes enclosed by screens which practically create separate chapels. The base of one may still be seen placed against the wall in the body of the church (p. 36), and the frequent occurrence of niches, containing painted figures of the Virgin or Saints, suggests the presence of others.¹ In another respect S. Maria Antiqua has not yet reached an important Western development. Next to the side-altars the most striking features in a mediaeval or modern Italian church are the sepulchral monuments. By the eighth century, as we shall see, the dead had invaded even the innermost parts of the church, but in nearly every case they were laid out of sight beneath the floor, and no memorial, except no doubt an epitaph, marked their graves. It is obvious that it was impossible in churches decorated after the Byzantine fashion with a complete decorative scheme covering the whole surface of the walls, to introduce architectural monuments which would have destroyed the connexion. At the very latest stage of the history of the building, perhaps as late as the eleventh century, we see the beginnings of the abandonment of the principle, when *loculi* were cut in the side-walls, and therefore in the midst of the painted surface, which had then to be re-arranged so as to leave room for the painted epitaph which covered the recess (p. 101). But in the period with which we are chiefly concerned, when the church was still

¹ The multiplication of altars in this period is illustrated by the inscription of Gregory III. (731-741) in St. Paul's without the Walls, regulating the oblations at the six daily masses. De Rossi, *I.C.R.* ii, p. 423, n. 41. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 169, and *T.* iii. 3.

intact and in use, we see that while the most illustrious dead were buried in ancient marble sarcophagi, often of an elaborately decorative character, and, in one case, of Christian design, their tombs were concealed beneath the pavement just as much as the bodies of less distinguished or wealthy persons which were consigned to brick graves. We must descend four or five hundred years later—to the dawn in fact of the Renaissance—before we find an appreciation of the decorative character of such objects. In the thirteenth century the noble families of Rome still procured costly ancient sarcophagi to form their tombs, but now they are above ground, and exhibited so as to show their decorative features, forming part of an architectural sepulchral monument which takes its place among the ornaments of the church.¹

The subjects of the pictures fall into two classes, figures of saints, and scenes illustrating a story. Nothing could bring before us more clearly the extent of the Greek religious influences in Rome at this time than the spectacle of this array of Eastern saints, some of whom had preceded though most accompanied the conquerors of the sixth century. Many of them have made a permanent place for themselves in the Western calendars, and others, though not so popular, are still common to the Greek and Roman Churches.

But some who are prominent in S. Maria, were forgotten as time went on, and their names no longer figure among the saints of the modern Roman Church. Abbat Cyrus in particular enjoyed a special popularity in Byzantine Rome, and there were at one time five churches or chapels under his patronage, though he has been almost completely forgotten since the Middle Ages. It is significant that he appears no less than four times in S. Maria, twice associated with his companion John. Among these Greek saints we look almost in vain for any who are distinctive of the West, and even of Italy. There are indeed a few local Roman saints, and Augustine appears as one of the Fathers, but practically there is only one important exception to the monotonous procession of Eastern personages. It is a significant one, both for the time and place—the canonized Popes. Gregory the Great² and Martin I. are the most recent. The latter, the martyr of Western orthodoxy, had been dead barely half a century when his image was painted on the walls. Truly the Roman Church of the eighth century, for all the Byzantine atmosphere by which

¹ Cf. p. 93.

² But see p. 31.

it] was surrounded, was not ungrateful to the champions of its independence.

The manner in which the saints are represented is purely conventional. They are classified according to their rank or calling, and then represented uniformly in the costume appropriate to the class—ecclesiastics in their vestments, laymen in the official dress of the period. The only method of distinction is by differences in physiognomy, and here it is remarkable to notice how often the individual types agree with the rules of the much later Byzantine Manual.¹ Evidently those rules, in this respect at least, were known in the eighth century. What distinguishes broadly these representations of saints from those of Western mediaeval art, is the absence of the general method of identification in the latter, the emblem. In S. Maria Antiqua, Clement is almost alone in appearing with an emblem, in his case the anchor.² The important class, in Byzantine hagiology, of medical saints is also represented holding appropriate objects, but these are rather in the nature of indications of the profession to which the saints belong than personal emblems.³ In the same way the censer carried by St. Stephen (p. 79) merely suggests one of the ritual duties of the deacon, and is therefore only official. For the rest, the conventional costume, the traditional physiognomy, and the name, suffice.

The scenes from the Old and New Testament History must have been derived from a series of illustrations similar to those which appear in Greek Bibles.⁴ They do not, however, present any very direct analogies with these, though the designs show the same general character. The story of SS. Quiricus and Julitta, elementary as is the execution, was probably in the same way derived from an illustrated Greek manuscript. Here the treatment of the scenes presents various points of contact with the pictures in Byzantine Menologies (p. 54).

When we come to consider the artistic character of the paintings it would be perhaps dangerous, in view of the relative unimportance of the church, and also of the ruined condition of all save a few of them, to make deductions of too sweeping or too dogmatic a character. But this much

¹ It is unfortunate that Miss Stokes, in her translation of Didron, omitted this part of the Manual (*Christian Iconography*, ii. 378).

² St. Peter appears regularly with the key at an even earlier period. The only representation of him in S. Maria is too ruined to show whether he had it here.

³ See pp. 78, 79, 98. ⁴ *E.g.* the well-known Greek Bibles in the Vatican Library (746, 747).

seems to be clear. While all the paintings, from the circumstances of both time and place, must be described as Byzantine, some of them—notably those of the Sanctuary and central part of the church (pp. 64, 85)—have an unmistakable affinity with the Roman art of classical times, not only in types and treatment, but also in method and technique. There is nothing surprising or new in this, for Byzantine art was but the continuation of the artistic traditions of the ancient world. The later pictures, consisting mainly of the figures of saints, where the method of representation was conventional, belong to a different sphere; and the character of these figures with their hard outlines, their stiff attitudes and fixed expression, approaches more nearly to what is generally understood by the Byzantine style.

Why should we look beyond Italy or Rome for the artists who executed these paintings? S. Maria Antiqua, even after John VII. took it under his patronage, was never a church of sufficient importance to command the services of the Greek artists of Constantinople. Moreover Rome, even at this time, was too large a city, and the demand for decorative work, especially in the churches, too frequent for us to imagine that the artists had always to be brought in from outside, whenever such undertakings were in progress. Some, no doubt, of the local Roman artists belonged to the Greek colony, and their number may have been increased during the Iconoclastic persecution in the East, which lasted through the middle of the eighth century. It might even be suggested that in S. Maria we can distinguish their work from that of native Roman painters by the Greek inscriptions which accompany some of the pictures; though many of the inhabitants of Rome at this period must have been bilingual. On the other hand it is difficult to believe that any but Italian hands were concerned with the paintings in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta. Our conclusion then will be this: The art that we see in S. Maria Antiqua is Byzantine, for that is the art of the age; but at the same time it is local and the work of local artists, whether they were native Romans, or Greeks who had made a new home in Rome and succeeded in becoming as good Romans as John VII. himself.

In one respect these pictures have a special interest for English people. They belong to, and are probably typical of, an age when England was in process of receiving a new ecclesiastical culture and discipline from Rome, and when, therefore, the relations between them were peculiarly intimate. And further, if in that age Rome was dominated by the Byzantine element,

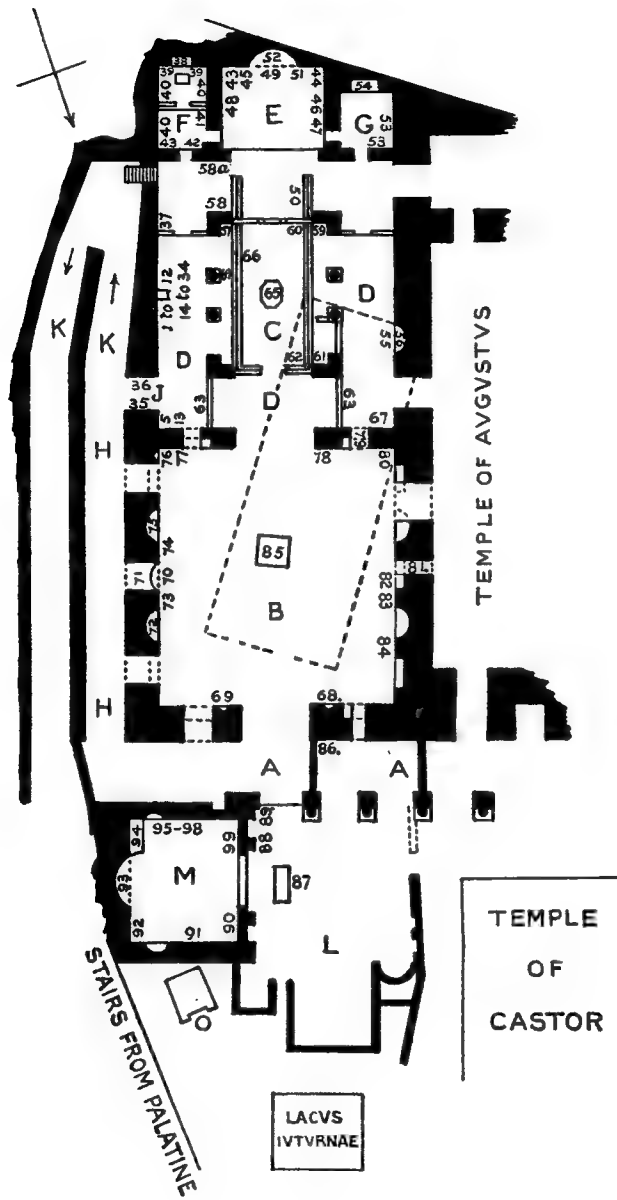
we may remember that it was just this Byzantine element which took an important part in the ecclesiastical settlement of England. Archbishop Theodore was a representative of the Byzantine colony in Rome, and he and others would naturally carry with them to England not only the learning and ecclesiastical discipline, but also the ecclesiastical art with which they were familiar. But we are fortunate in being able to point to a definite instance of such an importation of Romano-Byzantine art into England still nearer in date to the pictures of S. Maria Antiqua. When Benedict Biscop returned from his fifth visit to Rome in 678, among other things which he brought back for the benefit of his church at Wearmouth were designs for pictures with which to decorate the walls. We are told that figures of the Virgin and the Apostles occupied the vault (perhaps the apse is meant), the Gospel history the northern wall, and the visions of the Apocalypse the southern.¹ Here we evidently have a church completely and consistently decorated with paintings after the Byzantine fashion. Again, after another visit to Rome in 684, Benedict brought back more pictorial designs, of which a series of the Life of Christ was destined for Wearmouth, while at Jarrow the Old Testament types were placed beneath the Gospel scenes which they illustrated; Isaac carrying the wood for the sacrifice below Christ carrying the cross, the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness below the Crucifixion.² We cannot doubt that these scenes also occurred in the series of Old Testament types in S. Maria Antiqua, the fragments of which will be described in their proper place.³ And as we look at the latter we may feel some confidence in thinking (and the same thing is true, generally, of all the pictures in the church) that the subjects reproduced on the walls of the church in the North of England were derived from a similar, perhaps from an identical, series, and were closely related to them in style and treatment.

On its abandonment in the ninth century, S. Maria Antiqua was so completely stripped of its movable fittings that it has little to tell us about its ritual arrangements. So far as can be seen they must have followed the regular pattern which is represented for us to-day in such churches as S. Clemente and S. Maria in Cosmedin. Nor is there much that is new to be learnt from the pictures about such matters. Perhaps the most curious feature which appears is the use of votive candles (p. 51).

¹ Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 6, ed. Plummer (vol. v. of Works, ed. Migne, p. 718).

² Bede, *l.c.* 9 (p. 720).

³ pp. 63, 87, 88.



PLAN OF S. MARIA ANTICUA.

We have already alluded to the manner in which S. Maria Antiqua reflects the political and social conditions of the time and place. Can we similarly trace the effects of the great religious controversies of the age in the pictures which adorn its walls? Iconoclasm, indeed, must have left things in Rome much as they were, and the paintings executed in S. Maria in the middle of the eighth century are to be regarded as ordinary works of continuation and restoration rather than as a protest against the Iconoclastic Emperors. The theological struggle of the previous century, on the other hand, has left a definite mark on the Church. As we shall see, the triumph of Roman orthodoxy at the anti-Monothelite Lateran Council of 649 was commemorated in the paintings of the Sanctuary executed about that time; and when the same part of the church was decorated by John VII. on a more elaborate scale, but probably with the same intention, Martin I., who had presided at the Council, and subsequently paid for his protest with his life, took his place in the monument then erected to the orthodoxy and independence of the Roman Church.¹

DESCRIPTION OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

I.—THE ORIGINAL BUILDING.

As it is not our present object to discuss the origin and purpose of this building, which was afterwards converted into a church, but only to describe those features of it which are necessary for the understanding of the subsequent arrangements, it will be sufficient here to state that it completes the vast brick structure known as the Temple of Augustus, by filling up the space between the back wall of the temple and the steep north-west face of the Palatine hill. The various parts of the block condition one another, and belong to a single plan; and the date of its construction is the reign of Hadrian.²

Passing the Temple of Castor on the right and the fountain of Juturna on the left we reach the entrance of the newly discovered building. This entrance, as will be understood from what has been said about the situation

¹ See pp. 62, 72.

² The unity of the plan and the conditions of the site are conveniently brought out in Figs. 47 and 48 (published of course before the recent excavations) of Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 121, 123.

of the building, is in a wall which is an extension of the northern side of the Temple of Augustus, though of much lower elevation. The whole façade in this direction was covered, in its lower portion at least, by a *porticus* (A)¹ of brick piers, worked into engaged columns on their outer face. Passing under this porticus we enter, through a wide opening, a large hall (B), at the further end of which is a corresponding door. The vaulted roof has entirely disappeared, and the only original feature which has survived is the treatment of the side-walls with large niches, alternately rectangular and semicircular. Rectangular niches of similar size fill up the spaces in the end-walls, on either side of the great doors. After the building had been converted into a church, passages were cut through the walls below these, so that there were three doors at either end of the hall. Proceeding through the central and original opening, at the further end we reach what was evidently a *peristylum* or cloistered court (C). The open space in the centre is enclosed by a colonnade (D), originally covered by a barrel vault (now restored), and supported at the angles on four substantial brick piers. At the two ends of the court these were united by arches,² and at the sides by arcades, originally of brick piers, leaving three openings on either side. At a later time, perhaps, when the building was converted into a church, these piers were removed and replaced by granite columns with marble Corinthian capitals, taken of course from some older building.³ The bases of the brick piers have, however, survived, and tell their own story. The farther end of the peristyle from the entrance opens into three rooms, the largest of which, in the centre (E), is of nearly the same width as the court, while those which flank it (F, G), correspond to the breadth of the peristyle. These rooms are of great height, barrel-vaulted, and lighted, in the case of the two outer ones, by windows in the entrance wall, high above the level of the vaulting of the peristyle. They communicated with one another by doors pierced in the side walls. The great central room was, apparently, quite open in the direction of the court, from which it was only separated by the peristyle. The upper part of the opening, however, above the roof of the peristyle

¹ The letters and numerals in brackets refer to the plan, p. 18.

² The further one has been restored.

³ The arcade has been restored, the arches being united to the capitals by means of the splayed impost blocks (*pulvini*) which came into use in Italy in the course of the fifth century (G. T. Rivoira, *Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, 24). The restoration is certain, as the spring of the arch had survived on the angle piers.

must have been closed by a screen of some kind, which served the purpose of a window. The back wall of this chamber was excavated after the building became a church so as to form an apse roughly corresponding in height to the arch of the peristyle opposite to it. Previously a rectangular niche seems to have occupied the centre of the space.

The portico through which the building was entered, turns the left corner of the façade, and is continued along that side which is nearest to the Palatine in the form of a barrel-vaulted corridor (H). Three openings were made into it in the Byzantine period by cutting through the wall below the rectangular niches in the great vaulted hall. But where the corridor reaches the peristyle, with which it communicates by a large and original doorway placed in the north-east angle of the latter (J), it begins to ascend by a regular incline (K), and returning upon itself when it had reached a point corresponding to the end of the peristyle, continues to ascend until it meets the long flight of stairs which unites the north-west angle of the Palatine with the Forum.

The incline and the corridor have a flooring of *opus spicatum* in brick. Considerable remains in the peristyle and court show that these were also paved in the same way. The original decorations of the building, no doubt in the form of marble incrustations, have entirely disappeared.¹ As we know that in cases where ancient buildings converted into churches were decorated in this way, either simply, as in the Pantheon, or with secular and even pagan subjects, as in the Templum Sacrae Urbis (SS. Cosma e Damiano) and the Basilica Junii Bassi (S. Antonio Abbate),² the original decorations were retained, we must assume that in the present instance they were not removed to make way for the wall-paintings with which the walls were covered, but had either perished previously, perhaps by fire, or at least had fallen into a ruinous and fragmentary condition.

It is obvious that this building presents the essential features of the plan of a Roman house. A *vestibulum* leads to an *atrium*, on the further side of which (as *e.g.* in the so-called house of Germanicus on the Palatine) three rooms open—a *tablinum* in the middle, with

¹ The fragments of a marble skirting in the sanctuary perhaps belonged to this original wall-lining. I am informed by Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley that at the beginning of the excavation of the church, in March, 1900, when the observer stood close under the barrel-vault of the sanctuary, abundant traces of mosaic could be seen on the latter, though little except the bedding of the tesserae remained. This, too, must have formed part of the pre-Christian decoration of the building.

² See, *e.g.*, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 28; *Ruins and Excavations*, 215.

smaller chambers on either side. Fig. 1, taken from a fragment of the ancient marble plan of Rome, shows how common this arrangement must have been. But it will be noticed that the plan of the building, with which we are concerned, being on a much larger scale than that of an ordinary house, suggests a public rather than a domestic purpose. There are the elements of a house, but not the details. As in the Flavian Palace on the Palatine there is a vestibule, with which we may compare the so-called Throne Room, an atrium with a peristyle and a great room beyond, and that is nearly all. The Flavian Palace was rightly described as *aedes publicae*,¹ for it was all staterooms. And taking into account its plan and situation, the newly discovered building may have had something of the same character.

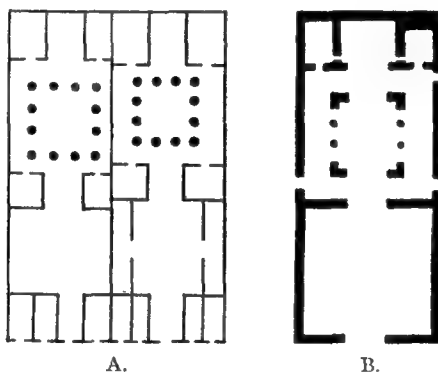


FIG. 1.

A. Roman houses from the Capitoline Plan. (Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, xxxiii. 173.)

B. S. Maria Antiqua. The Roman building.

As we have said before, it is not our object here to decide what was the original purpose of this building. But one consideration may be mentioned, for it is not without importance for the history of the church. The determining feature appears to have been the incline which connects it with the Palatine. The door (J) in the corner of the peristyle, from which the ascent begins, suggests that the whole served as a State entrance to the Palatine, brought down to the level of the Forum. We are told that Caligula made an approach to his Palace somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Castor ;² and though the building in its present form

¹ Plinius, *Panegyricus*, 47.

² Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22: *partem Palatii ad Forum usque promovit, atque aede Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, &c.*

cannot be his, it might well be a reconstruction by Hadrian of an arrangement of such obvious convenience. Whoever may have been the originator of this extension of the Palace to the Forum, there was a time when the site was laid out in a very different way. Below the floor of the Hadrianic hall or vestibule there has come to light a large tank or *piscina*, originally, and still in part, paved and lined with marble; its sides treated with a series of shallow recesses, alternately rectangular and curved. Set at a very different angle from the later building, it was allowed to remain, except where it interfered with the foundation walls of the latter. Its length is determined by the remains of the flight of steps descending into the water, which have been discovered between the wall and the first column on the right of the peristyle, and exactly correspond to that which has been preserved in the middle of the end near the entrance.¹ The springs for which this district is famous are sufficient to explain the origin of the *piscina*, but of its history we are ignorant. It appears to belong to the first century of the Christian era.

Such being the building which was converted into a church at some time, as we believe, after the middle of the sixth century, a casual observer might fancy that it was far from being well adapted for such a purpose. If the peristyle, as might have been expected, was to form the atrium of the church, the limited space of the tablinum was all that remained available for the church proper. Yet if we are to believe that the earliest Christian places of worship in Rome were private houses, the same conditions must have occurred in the *ecclesia domestica* of pre-Constantinian days. It might even be suggested that the tradition or survival of such arrangements may have made the conversion of the present edifice more natural than we should otherwise have thought. But if we are correct in the date which we have assigned to the foundation of the church, viz. the period of the Byzantine occupation of Rome, a more important and more probable consideration presents itself. Superficially, as we have said, we might fancy the building ill adapted for conversion into a church. To the Byzantines of that age the very contrary would appear the fact, for its plan is precisely that of the type of Byzantine churches which are dominated by the central principle (Fig. 2).² There is a narthex, there is the central

¹ The original outline of the piscina is indicated on the plan by dotted lines.

² I have to thank Cav. G. T. Rivoira for permission to reproduce the plan of S. Sophia at Salonica from his *Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, Fig. 104, p. 70.

space surrounded by an aisle, and beyond there is the Sanctuary flanked by its *prothesis* and *diaconicon*. The central space, indeed, in a Byzantine church would be covered by a dome, whereas here, apparently, it was open to the sky. But if S. Maria was established by Byzantines or by those who were subject to Byzantine influence, the ground plan of this Hadrianic building must have appealed to them as peculiarly suitable for the ecclesiastical arrangements to which they were accustomed; and we may well suppose that the coincidence had an important influence on the foundation and site of the church.

However this may have been, the conversion took place in the following manner. The tablinum, with the addition of an apse, apparently not till the middle of the seventh century (cf. p. 67), became the Sanctuary,

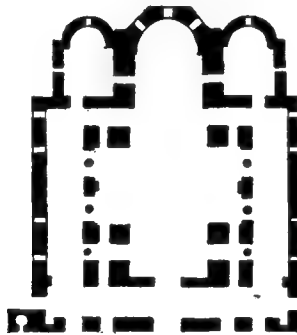


FIG. 2.—S. SOPHIA, SALONICA.

and an enclosed choir, after the fashion of that which still exists at S. Clemente, was constructed in the central space of the court, corresponding to the width of the arches which united the angle piers of the peristyle. There is nothing to show that this space was ever roofed over. Its use as a choir and its painted decorations would seem to imply some covering. On the other hand a roof would have deprived the rest of the church of nearly all its light. The entrance hall was treated as the atrium or narthex of the church, as is shown by the extensive burials which took place within it.

In every part of the interior the wall surface, together with the piers and columns of the peristyle, and the choir and other screens, was covered with decorative painting. We will now proceed to give a description of these

remains and of such other objects as exist, starting with the church proper, and turning to the left on entering from the atrium or vestibule.

II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH.

The outer wall of the peristyle on the left was covered with four tiers of painting, distributed as follows. At the bottom was a dado painted to represent hangings. Above this was a row of full-length saints, facing the spectator. The two upper tiers contained in oblong panels the Old Testament history beginning with the Creation.

The latter have only survived, in an intelligible form, on that part of the side wall which is beyond the door (J) leading to the ascent to the Palatine. At this point, on the first or upper row, the story has reached the scene of the animals entering the Ark. The series must, therefore, have begun immediately to the left of the main entrance, and even so there is not room for more than eight scenes in which to represent the history from the Creation to the construction of the Ark. As the fragments of painting on the opposite side of the church belong, apparently, to a New Testament series, we must suppose that the story on the upper tier did not run continuously round the church, but when it had reached the end of the left wall returned at once to the starting point on the left of the main entrance.

The first trace of any scene that has survived on the upper tier is to be found on the left wall beyond the side door (J). The upper and larger part of the scenes on this tier has in every case disappeared, and with it the explanatory inscriptions. What can be made out is as follows :

Of the first scene (1)¹ only the lower right-hand corner is preserved and shows a dead or sleeping figure. This scene was presumably the eighth from the beginning, and corresponds to the fourth scene on the lower tier (Joseph in the pit). It may be noted that the panels on the two tiers exactly correspond. As the following scene shows the animals entering the Ark, this was probably the murder of Abel.²

(2) From the left a lion (?) and a serpent approach the Ark, and the hind quarters of a third animal are seen within the door. Three draped figures approach it from the right.

¹ The numbers in brackets indicate the position of the pictures, &c. on the plan.

² This is the sequence, *e.g.* in the Byzantine Manual. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 268.

(3) The Deluge. Conventional representation of the sea. The upper part would have shown the Ark.

(4) Two draped figures facing towards the centre. Probably Noah's Sacrifice (Gen. viii. 20).

The plaster has entirely disappeared beyond this, but the series stopped here, as is shown by the arrangement below (p. 37). Coming now to the second tier, the faint traces of the scene to the left of the door (J) show (5) on the left, a figure in a short tunic moving to the right. In the middle a draped figure turned in same direction. Possibly the Sacrifice of Isaac. Immediately to the right of the door the series continues. Here for the first time we get the inscriptions, which are painted in white letters across some vacant space of the background. They give a short description of the scene beginning with *ubi*, perhaps derived from the *ἐνθα* or *ἐνταῦθα* with which the descriptions of the miniatures in Greek Bibles (*e.g.*, Vat. Gr. 746, 747) are introduced. The names of the principal persons are also generally inscribed perpendicularly beside them.¹

(6) Very little remains. Jacob asleep on the ground. To the right *iACOô*. Probably Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 11 *sqq.*).

(7) Left, Jacob, with his name inscribed beside him, apparently kneeling before an angel who stretches out his right hand towards him. Right, buildings, perhaps the gate of a city. Further to the left are remains of the inscription, too fragmentary to be read with certainty. All that can be seen now appears to be,

COB
A I \
M A G EL
BEN DI
T V R

Probably the scene represents Jacob demanding a blessing from the angel with whom he had wrestled at Peniel (Gen. xxxii. 24 *sqq.*), and the description may be conjecturally restored: [*Ubi Ia*]cob [*luct*]atu[r] [*cu*]m a[n]gel[o] [*ut*] ben[e]di[ca]tur.²

¹ It may be mentioned here with regard to the inscriptions throughout the church, that fragmentary letters are generally printed as complete when there can be no question about their identity.

² This is the form of the description which accompanies the scene in the twelfth-century mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo, though the representation is rather different. The same scene at Monreale has: *Iacob luctavit cum angelo. Angelus benedixit ei dicens*, etc.

(8) Only the right half of the scene is left. A draped figure, seated, turned to the right, raises his right hand towards a youthful figure in a short tunic coming from the right, also with his hand extended. The persons, as the gestures show, are speaking to one another, and the scene is, no doubt, Joseph telling his dreams to his father and brethren. The latter were probably standing behind the seated figure of Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 10). The inscriptions have gone with the upper part of the picture.

(9) Joseph sold to the Midianites (Gen. xxxvii. 28). Left, six men draw Joseph (IOSEPH to the left of his head) out of the mouth of a circular well. In the upper right-hand corner a figure, standing beside a loaded camel, extends his right hand towards the group, above which is inscribed,

ubi ioseph VENVNDATVS EST NEG\
 in egypt O·A FRATRIBVS SVIS¹

The last letter preserved on the first line appears to be the left stroke of a V, and there is only room for one more. The word was probably *negus*, i.e. *negotiatoribus*. The slight traces of the letter before O on the second line suggest T. *In Egypto* would be for *in Egyptum*, like *in carcere* in the next scene but one (11).

(10) Double panel. (a) Left. Joseph is sold to Potiphar. Left, a personage in Byzantine official costume, extends his right hand towards Joseph (with name inscribed) who, also with raised right hand, is put forward by a taller figure in a short tunic with his hand on Joseph's shoulder. The inscription is gone.

(b) Right. Joseph tempted by Potiphar's wife. Left, Potiphar's wife with her hand on Joseph's shoulder, who escapes from her towards the right. Behind them is a bed, and in the background a gabled house. The beginning of the description is damaged, and the restoration is doubtful. It appears to read,

///// Γ Δ IOSEPHCONCVPIBIT
 E V M

i.e. perhaps, *ubi uxor d(omin)i Ioseph concupivit eum*.

(11) Joseph committed to prison. Left, Joseph (with name inscribed)

¹ The phraseology appears to be derived from the Vulgate. Gen. xxxvii. 27: *melius est ut venundetur Ismaelitis*. 28: *et praetereuntibus Madianitis negotiatoribus*. 36: *Madianitae venderunt Joseph in Egypto*.

is led by a man who points with his left hand to the prison on the right. At a window in its side two heads appear. Above, to the left, is written

VBI IOSEPH DVCITVR
I N CARCERE

(12) Pharaoh's feast (Gen. xl. 20-22). Left, on a square table, a circular tray, in the middle of which is a large bowl with square platters (?) round it. At the table three persons are seated. Behind the one on the extreme left is inscribed perpendicularly on the frame of the panel, REX FARA O. The person to the right takes the cup from the chief butler who holds a long-shaped bottle in his left hand. Behind the group is a gabled building. To the right, the chief baker is represented hanging on a pole, his hands tied behind his back. Above is inscribed

VBI ReBERSuSIT
INOFFICIO
V

There is no room for anything more at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second line. The interpretation may be: *ubi reversus it* (? *iterum*) *in officio suo*.¹

These scenes are in general too faint to allow of much discussion of their artistic character, apart from the subjects. The latter were no doubt ultimately derived from some MS. series of Biblical illustrations. So far as it is possible to judge from their present condition, the comparatively rude and simple character of the painting, the large round heads and short bodies, not to speak of the characteristic Latin inscriptions, indicate the work of a local artist. As we shall see later by comparison with dated work in another part of the church, they are probably not earlier than the middle of the eighth century. It may be added that while personages such as Noah and the aged Jacob are fully draped in the classical style, the youthful and inferior persons wear a short tunic and hose with a red stripe down the front of each leg. The officials appear in the Byzantine official costume of tunic and chlamys fastened on the right shoulder and adorned in front with the square panel called the *tablion*.²

Immediately below the Biblical scenes, forming part of the same scheme of decoration, and executed at the same time, is a series of full-length

¹ Cf. Gen. xl. 13: *dabisque ei calicem iuxta officium tuum sicut ante facere consueveras*.

² Of this contemporary dress, regularly used here and in other monuments of the epoch, in representations of official persons and lay saints, there are familiar examples in the well-known

figures of saints standing facing the spectator, in front of a high red dado finished with a band of yellow. The background above this is dark blue, with a broad band of red at the top. The names are inscribed beside the figures perpendicularly in Greek, each preceded by Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ. The beginning and end of each name is marked by a sign like a comma or the *spiritus lenis*, which is sometimes of importance in determining the initial letter of a fragmentary name.¹ The saints are ranged on either side of a seated Christ placed opposite to the space between the two columns of the peristyle. The series was continued to the left of the side-door (J), and probably also along the wall which divides the church from the vestibule. Our description begins, as usual, from the left.

To the right of the side-door into the vestibule there were probably two figures, but nothing is left except a portion of the frame or border which enclosed the picture. To the left of the door (J) leading to the incline, the first definite traces appear. A pair of saints occupied the space, but little more than the nimbi round their heads can be seen. The first (13) was, apparently, a beardless figure. On either side of his head is inscribed Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ | 'MA//ΑϞ. After the last letter, which appears to be a C, the plaster has fallen away. Of the costume nothing has survived to give a clue to the name. The letters which remain seem to agree best with that of Mamas or Mammias, a martyr of Caesarea in Cappadocia under Aurelian, who had a considerable notoriety in the West as well as in the East.²

Of the second figure the only remains are the nimbus with Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ to the left.

To the right of the door (J) the first figure is (14) a beardless saint, in Byzantine official costume (white tunic and chlamys with blue tablion), holding a small cross in the right hand and a crown in the left (*i.e.* a martyr). Of the name only the termination ΟC remains. There is not

mosaic of Justinian and his Court at S. Vitale, Ravenna. On this, and on ecclesiastical costume generally, see Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 521; Wilpert, *Gewandung der Christen*; and the convenient summary in Lowrie's *Christian Art and Archaeology* (1901), 383.

¹ The sign also precedes the names and descriptions in the Old Testament scenes above.

² Sept. 2nd in the Greek Calendar. *Martyrologium Romanum*, Aug. 17th. The Byzantine Manual according to Didron (324) represents him as "jeune, imberbe." Ruinart (*Acta Sincera*, ed. Ratisbon, 1859, p. 306) gives the references to him by Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, and an account of his cult in Gaul. One might have thought that a church dedicated to him was indicated by the *S. Mamias* in the list of Roman churches given by Cencius Camerarius, as published by Mabillon (cf. Armellini, *Chiese*, 43), the form being similar to that of *Cosimatus* from *Cosmas*. But the only MS. of authority (Riccardi, 228) has *Mannatus*. P. Fabre in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1887, 454 n; cf. 434.

room for more than three or four letters before it. We will postpone for the moment the question of its possible restoration.

(15) A bishop, with short beard, holding a book with both hands. He is vested in a dark blue chasuble, under which the dalmatic appears, and the sacred pallium hangs round his shoulders. ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙΟC. Presumably St. Gregory the Great (590–604). He appears in both the Eastern and Western Calendars (March 12th.).¹

(16) A saint, with short beard, represented in precisely the same manner as (14). The surviving letters of the name are 'CΕΠ- which, taken in connexion with the representation, may be restored with certainty as CΕΡΓΙΟC. Sergius and Bacchus, martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, commemorated on Oct. 7th in both the Eastern and Western Calendars, had a decided popularity in Rome from the Byzantine period onwards, and three or four churches were dedicated in their honour. As they never occur singly, we may feel some confidence in restoring the fragmentary name of (14) as ΒΑΚΧΟC or ΒΑΧΟC, which fits the lacuna. Strzygowski has pointed out that their distinctive badge is the metal ring worn round the neck.² We may suppose that this indicates the fact that they belonged to a corps of the Imperial Guards, for in the Acts of their martyrdom Sergius is described as *primicerius et princeps scholae Gentilium*, and Bacchus as *secundicerius*.³ A closer examination of the remains of the painting before us shows that Sergius certainly had the ring round his neck, for it appears clearly above

¹ His cult was in existence in the time of Gregory III. (731–741), whose brief regulating the services in St. Paul's without the Walls, mentions the *quarta missa ad scm. Gregorium ad ianuas*. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 169, T. iii. 3. It was recognised in England soon afterwards at the Council of Clovesho (747). Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, &c., iii. 368.

² *Orient oder Rom*, 124, Figs. 47, 48. The heads in the former are very close in style to the saints in S. Maria Antiqua, but, as in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, 322), both are beardless. See also *Archaeologia*, lvii. (1900), 159, and Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* (1901), No. 398.

³ *Acta SS.* Oct. vol. iii. 839. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Seeck, p. 31) we find *sub dispositione viri illustris magistri officiorum, Schola Gentilium seniorum et iuniorum*. They belonged to the *Scholae Palatinae* (Ammian. Marc. xiv. 7). Strzygowski, who repeats the incorrect form Κεντιλίων for Γεντιλίων, an error long ago pointed out by the editor of the *Acta SS.*, says that the ring is the sign "ihres adeligen Ranges" (*l.c.* 126). But, inasmuch as it is worn by all the guardsmen in attendance on the Emperor, *e.g.* in the relief on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople (d'Agincourt, T. x. 7), on his *clipeus* at Madrid (Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, i. Fig. 438), and in the mosaic of Justinian at Ravenna (Garrucci, iv. T. 264, i. Hodgkin, *Invaders*, iv. Frontispiece), it is clear that it is not a distinction of the officers but a badge of the corps; and I would suggest that it is the barbarian *torques*, alluding to the fact that, as the name shows (*gentiles = barbari*), these Guards were, originally at least, not Romans.

the folds of the chlamys. In the case of Bacchus, where the painting is fainter, it is less obvious, but still unmistakable.

This grouping of SS. Sergius and Bacchus on either side of Pope Gregory must have had some meaning at the time when the painting was executed, but the explanation is not obvious. The date of the introduction of the cult of the saints at Rome is not known; but, as we learn from Gregory of Tours,¹ it was established in Gaul in the sixth century, and, possibly, Gregory the Great may have founded their first church in Rome. The first Pope whose name appears in connexion with theirs is another Gregory—the Third (731–741). The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that he rebuilt on a larger scale their church near St. Peter's.² Can it be that this is the Gregory represented in S. Maria Antiqua? Like Martin I. and Zacharias, he was no doubt regarded as a saint by the time when these pictures were executed in the latter part of the eighth century.³

(17) This figure is much damaged, but it is clear that he is an old man with a short white beard and bare feet, wearing the classical costume of a dark blue pallium over a long red tunic. The traces of the position of his right hand seem to show that he was holding a book. Of the name only the first letter is preserved, C; it is followed by a mark which can hardly be anything else but the transverse stroke on the apex of an A, which appears in other cases. The next saint throws some light on the identity.

(18) A figure much better preserved than the last, and apparently represented in precisely the same manner; *i.e.* his feet are bare, he wears a dark blue pallium over a red tunic, and he holds a jewelled book. The head is that of an old man with a long white beard. The name is complete, ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟC. The representation, which is the traditional one in Byzantine art,⁴ shows that this is the famous Palestinian Abbat (377–473), described in the Greek Calendar as ὁ Μέγας (Jan. 20th). As the personage of (17) is represented in the same manner, we must look for him in the same class of monastic saints, and it now becomes clear that the name is to be restored as CABBAC.⁵ Sabbas or Sabas (Dec. 5th in both

¹ *Hist. Franc.* vii. 31. *Gloria Mart.* i. 96.

² *Lib. Pont.* i. 420.

³ Commemorated on Nov. 28th, only in the Calendar of the City of Rome.

⁴ Didron, 330. With regard to the dress, see p. 35. Though the monastic saints in the eleventh-century mosaics of the Church of St. Luke of Stiris are represented in regular monastic habits, it is to be noticed that, as here, their under-garment is red (Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 51 *sqq.*)

⁵ Cf. the representation in the Church of St. Luke of Stiris, where they occur in the same group (Schultz and Barnsley, 53). "St. Sabas has a curiously trimmed, short white beard, and

Calendars) was a disciple of Euthymius, with whom he is thus naturally associated, and moreover his name is connected with a famous Greek monastery on the Aventine.¹

(19) An ecclesiastic (short beard) vested in a yellow chasuble, and holding a book. **ΑΒΟΥΝΔΟC**. This must be the presbyter Abundius, who belongs to a group of martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, buried in the cemetery of Theodora near Rignano, some fifteen miles from Rome. His appearance here is curious, for there are no traces of his popularity at Rome in this age, and the translation of the relics from their original resting place was not earlier than the eleventh century. The 'Acts' of the martyrdom are however older.²

(20) An ecclesiastic (short beard) in a red chasuble, holding a book. **ΒΑΛΕΥΤΙΝΟC**. The well-known presbyter of the Roman Church (Feb. 14th). His popularity in this age dates from the restoration of the Basilica on the Via Flaminia by Pope Theodore (642-649).³

(21) A bishop (beardless) in classical costume, with bare feet, and the ecclesiastical pallium round his shoulders. He holds a small cross in his right hand, and a book in his left. **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC** (the last two letters inscribed horizontally). The bishop of Rome of the beginning of the second century. His place here is no doubt due to the celebrity of the tomb of the martyr Alexander on the Via Nomentana, with whom he had been confused at least as early as the sixth century.⁴

(22) A bishop (short beard) in a yellow chasuble with the pallium, holding a book. **ΛΕΩ**. St. Leo the Great (April 11th in the Roman Calendar; Feb. 18th in the Greek).

(23) A bishop (short beard) in a red chasuble, with the pallium. The fingers of the right hand, in the Greek attitude of blessing, touch the book which he holds in his left. **CΕΑΒΕCΤΡΙΟC**. St. Silvester (314-335).⁵

that of Euthymius is very long." But it should not have been stated that the crosses which they hold indicate that they were martyrs.

¹ The recent excavations in S. Saba have made it clear that the church was being decorated at the same time and perhaps by the same hands as this part of S. Maria Antiqua.

² His name was only inserted in the Roman and other Martyrologies (Sept. 16th) in the sixteenth century. The original epitaph is now in the Lateran Museum (*C.I.L.* xi. 4076). Cf. De Rossi in *Bull. Arch. Chr.* 1883, 134, *sqq.* The relics were rediscovered in SS. Cosma and Damiano in 1582 and given to the Church of the Gesù (Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, 286), where they now lie beneath the high altar.

³ Marucchi, *Cimitero e Basilica di S. Valentino*, 113.

⁴ Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. XCI, 127.

⁵ He is represented in exactly the same manner (including the Greek form of benediction) in the Menologium of Basil II. in the Vatican Library (ed. Albani, ii. 78).

(24) A bishop in classical costume, with the ecclesiastical pallium. Short beard and bare feet. In his right hand is a small anchor, and a book in his left. ΚΛΕΙΜΕΝΤΙΟΣ. St. Clement of Rome.

(25) Christ seated on a throne, robed in purple. His right hand blessing in the Greek manner. The left holds a book. Cruciform nimbus.

The Saints who follow are all bishops wearing, with one exception, the chasuble and pallium, and holding books with both hands. The names are practically intact.

(26) ΙΩΑΝΝΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΤΟΜ. Short beard. Blue chasuble.

(27) ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ. Long beard. Yellow chasuble. Probably St. Gregory Nazianzen (ὁ Θεολόγος).¹

(28) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ. Long beard. Blue chasuble.

(29) ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΟΣ (the last word inscribed horizontally in two lines). Short beard. Red chasuble.

(30) ΚΥΡΙΑΛΛΟΣ. Long beard. Yellow chasuble. St. Cyril of Alexandria.²

(31) ΕΠΕΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ (the last three letters horizontally). He has a long beard and bare feet, and is represented in classical costume (white), with the addition of the ecclesiastical pallium. He holds a small cross in his right hand. His costume, in which he is alone in this part of the series, is explained by the fact that, until he became bishop of Salamis in 367, he had led the monastic life, and always maintained his monastic connexions. He is therefore represented in the same garb as, *e.g.*, Euthymius (18).

(32) ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ. Long beard. Yellow chasuble.

(33) ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ. Short beard. Red chasuble. St. Nicolas of Myra.

(34) ΕΡΑΣΜΟΣ. Short beard. Blue chasuble. This must be the Campanian bishop martyred in the Diocletian persecution (June 2nd in the Roman Calendar). He no doubt owes his position here to the fact that his name was associated with an important Greek monastery on the Caelian, refounded by Pope Adeodatus in the seventh century.³

¹ He is associated with SS. John Chrysostom and Basil in, *e.g.*, the Greek Psalter in the British Museum (Add. 19352, f. 35 b). Cf. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, 87. In the Church of St. Luke of Stiris it is Gregory ὁ Θαυματουργὸς who appears in this company (*l.c.* 59).

² Cf. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, Pl. 51.

³ *Lib. Pont.* i. 346. Armellini, *Chiese*, 122. Gregorovius, *Rome*, 2nd ed. bk. iii. ch. vi. (English translation, ii. 163).

We thus get the following series, starting from the Christ in the centre :

<i>Left.</i>	<i>Right.</i>
Clement.	John Chrysostom.
Silvester.	Gregory Nazianzen.
Leo.	Basil.
Alexander.	Peter of Alexandria.
Valentine.	Cyril of Alexandria.
Abundius.	Epiphanius.
Euthymius.	Athanasius.
Sabbas.	Nicolas.
Sergius.	Erasmus.
Gregory (? the Great).	
Bacchus.	
.	
Mamas.	

With regard to the principles on which these lists are arranged, it is clear that the saints on the right represent, generally, the Eastern Church, and that those on the left belong to the Church and City of Rome. The choice of the first eight names on the right, as the principal champions of the orthodox faith, is natural and intelligible.¹ Erasmus appears to be an exception, for he has no Eastern connexions. On the other hand, as we have pointed out, his name was well known in Rome at this period.

On the left, saints connected with the city of Rome predominate. The first eight are apparently arranged in the order of ecclesiastical dignity. First come four of the best-known Popes, then two presbyters, then two representatives of the Eastern monasticism which, in this age, had found a new home in the city of Rome.


Pictures of the eighth century are so rare that it is not unimportant to note precisely the *manner* in which these Saints are represented, the more so because the same rules are applied in every part of the church.² Following the example of Apostolic personages, Clement and Alexander as ecclesiastics of the pre-Constantinian age appear in the garb with which we are familiar from the Catacomb-paintings and the mosaics, viz. the classical costume of the pallium over a long tunic reaching to the feet, generally white with two red stripes down the front. Their feet are bare.

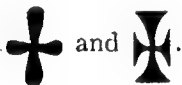
¹ Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 388, 392.

² See the references given on p. 28, note 2.

Valentine and Abundius, however, though they belong to the same epoch, are not represented in this manner. Round the neck bishops also wear the ecclesiastical ornament known as the pallium, *i.e.* the white band marked with crosses, one end of which hangs over the breast. All the ecclesiastics, of whatever period, hold a book (the Gospels) in the left hand, but in his right Clement holds a small anchor in front of him.

Ecclesiastics of the fourth century and onwards appear in the ordinary vestments ; chasuble, dalmatic, tunic or alb, and the pallium for bishops. In most cases the wide sleeve of the white dalmatic can be seen hanging down from the right hand as low as the knees and bordered with two bands of red, and within it the sleeve of the tunic or alb, fitting close to the wrist. In the other cases there is only the tunic with a border at the wrist, and as usual there are two red stripes down its front. There are sometimes differences in the pallium worn by the Eastern and Western bishops. With the latter it lies round the shoulders with one end hanging down over the middle of the chest, and this is also the case with the last four bishops


on the right. The crosses are of the shape  With the first five Greeks it is wound round the neck, the end falling in front over the left shoulder. The crosses on this side are alternately of the forms



The monastic saints (Euthymius, Sabbas, and Epiphanius), though they belong to the fourth century, are represented in the classical or early Christian costume of pallium and tunic. Perhaps it was chosen in order to indicate that as monks they are sacred persons but not ecclesiastics.¹ In the case of Epiphanius, the addition of the ecclesiastical pallium is enough to suggest that he afterwards became a bishop.

The lay saints appear in the Byzantine official costume, to which we have already referred ; viz., the chlamys, fastened on the right shoulder so as to leave the arm free, and marked in front with the square panel of darker material known as the tablion. This is worn over a long-sleeved

¹ Cf. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 526, who says that the costume is used regularly "per onorare quei santi che non erano da rappresentarsi colle vesti liturgiche o altrimenti proprie." It might also be suggested that, as the pallium was the garb of philosophers, it had a special appropriateness for ascetics.

tunic reaching below the knees. These saints hold a small cross in the right hand and the crown, the emblem of martyrdom, in the left. The former is of the shape  and held in front of the chest. It does not seem to have any reference to martyrdom, but appears very commonly in Byzantine representations of saints of all kinds (as here also with Alexander and Epiphanius). But it is most frequent with lay saints, because their hands are not occupied, like those of ecclesiastics, with books or with the gesture of benediction.

The saints are so much better preserved than the scenes above them that it is possible to say a few words about their artistic character. Though both, as being on the same plane of the plaster, and forming parts of one scheme of decoration, were presumably executed at the same time, they give the impression that they are not by the same hands. The Greek inscriptions attached to the saints, perhaps support this conclusion. In any case the work is that of a not very high class of church decorators. The single figures with their rigid and conventional attitudes do not present much scope for freedom of drawing, but the outlines are coarse and elementary. Relief is produced by shading with hatched lines. The faces, with their large and staring eyes, have a melancholy expression.

The dado below the figures is covered with a representation of hangings. As this occurs in several parts of the church (though perhaps not always of the same date), one description may suffice for all. The drapery is white with a coarse red and yellow pattern, the folds being marked by thick black lines. It is hung against a background which now appears black, but was no doubt originally blue.

Immediately below the figure of Christ a small square pedestal of brick and tiles has been built against this drapery at a later date. It was about 85cm. high, and projected about 65cm. from the wall. In the upper part is a square cavity (27cm. wide and 29cm. high), lined with white marble at the top and sides and verde antique at the bottom, and open in front. It is obviously the central support of an altar with a receptacle for relics.

Before leaving this part of the church we must notice the remains of painting in the jambs of the door (J) leading to the incline. On the left were three life-size figures facing the spectator (35). They have large yellow nimbi. The central figure, as shown by the veil or mantle over the head, and the bottom of the dress, was probably the Virgin. She stands.

under the central opening of a structure of masonry like a triumphal arch. On the right a column with its capital can be seen, dividing the central from the side arch. Immediately above the right of the capital a small bust in a medallion is painted in red.¹ The full-length figure below this has disappeared, except the nimbus round the head, the bottom of the long tunic, and the sandalled feet. Nothing definite can be made out of the figure on the other side. If the central figure was the Virgin, the attendants were probably two Archangels.

The subject on the right (36), though reduced to little more than outlines, is clearer and more interesting. It is the "Descent into Hell."² On the right we see the figure of Christ, fully draped and with the cruciform nimbus, moving quickly towards the left. With the right hand he grasps the hand of a beardless figure in white drapery below him on the left, rising out of a tomb-like structure. Behind this figure appear the head and hand of another. In the left hand Christ holds a roll. His right foot rests on the head of a figure half-seated, half-crouching on the ground with the right leg bent under it, supporting with one hand the cover or door of the tomb. In this figure we may recognise the personification of Hades which appears in other representations of the scene. The discussion of the importance of this picture in the development of the subject is reserved for the Appendix.

At the point where the series of Saints and the Old Testament scenes above them come to an end, opposite to the beginning of the corner pier of the peristyle, the aisle was crossed by a low screen with an opening in the middle, through which there was an ascent of two steps. Above, at the level of the top of the row of saints, some kind of beam ran across, as may be seen by the corresponding holes in the main wall and in the pier of the peristyle. The painted frame of the picture was arranged so as not to interfere with this. The beam may have been either of wood or marble, and supported by two short columns resting on the screen.³

Between the screen and a small door through which a staircase descends from the first landing of the incline, the wall was again covered with paintings. Unfortunately very little of this has survived. At the top the

¹ It recalls the figures of the sun and moon which sometimes appear in representations of the Crucifixion. *E.g.* Garrucci, vi. T. 459, 2, 3.

² See the sketch, Fig. 9, p. 116.

³ The appearance must have been like that of the screens in the Church of St. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, Pl. 22, &c.).

plaster has completely disappeared, exposing the brickwork. Corresponding in height to the row of saints in the outer part of the aisle there were two tiers of scenes, painted in a peculiar and individual style with very small figures. In the upper tier all that can be seen is, in the left corner, the upper part of a male figure, nude, save for a garment coming over the left shoulder, and wearing what appears to be a turreted crown.¹ He holds some large yellow object in his left hand. In the right corner is a fragment of drapery belonging to a figure, and under it appears the border which framed the scenes with a fragment of description painted on it . . . ICAI. . . . The fragment below shows that the inscription was in Greek. On the lower tier, in the left corner, are two male beardless figures, nude save for loin-cloths, standing side by side, apparently in water (37). Their right hands are held flat on the chest. It is possible that they belong to a series of the Forty Martyrs, a subject which we shall find represented in another part of the church (p. 111). Below them on the painted border are the first words of the description, ΤΗΡΑΦΗΤΗΕΙΚΟΝΟC; ΑΙΤΩΝΒΡΩ the beginning of which is obvious: *ἡ γραφή τῆς εἰκόνης*. The small figures are painted in a bold and sketchy style. The outlines are hard and angular and the features produced by single strokes of the brush. The forms are modelled in colour, with the lights put in in white. Below is a dado of drapery with bold pattern of red on a white ground, equally characteristic. It is clear that there was an earlier painting on this wall, but only the broad red enclosing border can be seen in places where the upper surface has come away.

We now pass through the door at the end of the aisle into the chapel (F) to the left of the Sanctuary, containing perhaps the most interesting remains in the building.² The fact that the barrel-vault has remained intact, and that the chapel is enclosed on all sides, has preserved some of the paintings in a far better condition than in any other part of the church. The earth in which they were buried has acted as an excellent preservative, and, except where the plaster has fallen, they are as fresh as when they left the artist's hands. Moreover, from the inscriptions and the historical personages

¹ This has a certain resemblance to the personifications of rivers with horns on their heads in the Greek Psalter of the British Museum (Add. 19352, f. 57 b, 125 a).

² The doors which connect the chapel with the aisle and the sanctuary were partly built up so as to reduce their size after the building became a church. The same is the case with the corresponding chapel (G).

represented, we are able to date them within a few years. They thus provide a valuable example of Roman pictorial art in the middle of the eighth century. The subjects show that the chapel was specially connected with SS. Quiricus and Julitta, a mother and her son who suffered martyrdom at Tarsus during the Diocletian Persecution.

The chapel was divided into two nearly equal parts by a low screen of marble slabs, with an opening in the middle, and a step up into the inner portion. Above the screen, as shown by the holes in the walls, and the arrangement of the painted frames of the pictures, a beam ran across just as in the aisle outside the chapel. In describing the pictures, which it may be noticed do not extend above a convenient level for the eye, the lofty walls above this being left blank, it will be best to begin with the

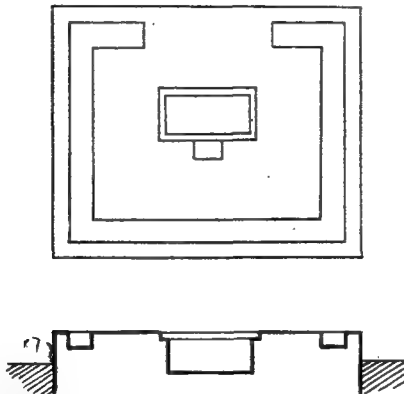


FIG. 3.—PLAN AND SECTION OF BASE OF ALTAR IN THE CHAPEL OF SS. QUIRICUS AND JULITTA.

end, or south-east wall, behind the altar. The remains of the marble base of the latter still exist *in situ*, almost square, and standing away from the wall. As will be seen from the accompanying rough sketch (Fig. 3), the sides were formed by slabs of marble which fitted into grooves in the base. In the middle of the latter is an oblong cavity for relics, the edge being rebated to receive the lid. At the back of the altar there was an opening. The arrangement is almost exactly the same as that of the sixth-century altars in the crypts of the SS. Apostoli and of SS. Cosma e Damiano.¹

In the middle of the wall, fairly high up, is a square niche, part of the

¹ Garrucci, vi. T. 423, 9—11; Grisar, *Anal. Rom.*, i. 620 sqq. Cf. also the altar of Euphrasius at Parenzo (Garrucci, vi. T. 408, 9; Rivoira, *Origini*, Fig. 144).

ancient construction of the building. The back wall of this is painted with a Crucifixion (38), peculiarly well preserved owing to the protection it has received from the recess in which it is placed.

On a yellow cross, fixed by three pegs in a small red mound, the figure of Christ is extended. The head, which is surrounded by a cruciform nimbus, is slightly inclined to the left, and the eyes are open. He wears a long sleeveless garment, which is blue with two yellow stripes down the front. The feet are nailed separately, and high up above the instep. If the cross has a top limb it is concealed by the yellow *tabula ansata* immediately above Christ's head. On it is inscribed

+ IC O NAZΩPAIOC
O BACIAEYC TΩN I
OYΔAIΩN .

To the left stands Mary, completely enveloped in a dark blue garment, bordered and fringed with white. She is in the act of raising her covered hands to her face on which an expression of acute grief is depicted. Her head is surrounded by a nimbus, and beside her is inscribed perpendicularly, SCA MARIA. Between her and the cross Longinus is represented on a much smaller scale, piercing the side of Christ with a spear. He is a bearded figure wearing a short green tunic with a stripe of gold embroidery down the front and also at the wrists, and blue hose. His sword hangs at his left side by a strap passing over the right shoulder. Beside him is his name, LONGINUS. On the right of the cross stands John (nimbed), in the Apostolic garb of a yellow pallium over a long white tunic with two red stripes down the front. His right hand is in the attitude of blessing, *i.e.*, the first two fingers are extended while the others are held by the thumb. In his left hand is a jewelled book. Beside him is inscribed perpendicularly SCS IOANNIS EVGAGELISTA. The figure seems to have been taken from some series of Apostles or Evangelists, for the attitude is conventional and has no relation to the scene of the Crucifixion, as is always the case in later mediaeval art. If the series was a Greek one, the transliteration from *Εὐαγγελιστῆς* might help to explain the mis-spelling of the name. Between John and the cross, and corresponding in size to Longinus, is the soldier raising the sponge on a reed. He wears a short red tunic and high boots coming up his bare legs. Beside him stands the bucket of vinegar. The background of the picture is a dark blue sky in which the sun appears

on the left and the moon on the right. Below, on either side of the cross, are two mountains, the left red, the right green. The edge of the foreground is marked by what may be intended for tufts of grass, or possibly for cracks in the soil. The roof of the niche has a coarse red pattern, and on the sides are roughly drawn palm trees with clusters of dates.

The picture of the Crucifixion adds one more to a series of Roman representations of the scene, which are almost precisely similar in treatment, and which must go back to some common original. They date from the seventh to the ninth century, and, while they sometimes agree even in minor details, the chief peculiarities which they all possess are the following.¹ The Christ is robed in a long sleeveless garment, and the feet are nailed apart. Mary is raising her covered hands to her face, and John is represented conventionally with one hand in the attitude of benediction, and the other holding a book. In all but one, Longinus and the soldier with the sponge also appear. The oldest (though the date is not absolutely certain) is the painting in the Catacomb of St. Valentine, probably belonging to the time of Pope Theodore (642-649).² In this the two soldiers do not appear. The next formed part of John VII.'s (705-707) mosaic decorations in his chapel of the Virgin at St. Peter's. So far as can be judged from the drawings made before its destruction in the seventeenth century,³ it was exactly like the picture in S. Maria Antiqua, which may well have been copied from it. Among the paintings of the ninth century in the oratory under the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is another example, which even in minor details agrees with the picture in S. Maria. Longinus has the sword hanging at his side, the pail of vinegar stands by the soldier with the sponge, and the ground shows the same rude representations of vegetation. On the other hand, St. Mary Magdalene appears behind the Virgin supporting her.⁴

Below the niche, the whole breadth of the wall behind the altar is

¹ Some of the features appear in the more elaborate representation of the Rabulas Codex (sixth century) Garrucci, iii. T. 139.

² Marucchi, *Cimitero e Basilica di S. Valentino*, 49 sqq. The discovery of the picture in S. Maria Antiqua has confirmed the truth of the old copies of the Catacomb-painting (Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, 579, and Ciacconio's copyist, *Cod. Vat.* 5409) against the objections raised by Wilpert (*Die Katakomben-gemälde und ihre alten Copien*, 40).

³ Garrucci, iv. T. 279. 1, 280. 8. Part of the figure of the Virgin raising her covered hands to her face may still be seen in the Crypt of St. Peter's.

⁴ P. Germano, *La Casa Celimontana dei SS. Martiri Giovanni e Paolo*, 426, Fig. 74. The original has now practically disappeared. An ivory of about the same date in the Liverpool Museum (Mayer Collection) shows John in the same conventional manner with a book, though the

painted with a row of full-length figures; the Virgin and Child enthroned in the centre, flanked by the patrons of the Roman Church, the patrons of the chapel, the Pope of the day, and the donor (39). Behind them is a dado alternately red and green. The upper part of the central group has been ruined by the fall of the plaster, and the surface below the figures has also disappeared; otherwise they are generally in a good state of preservation. Beginning from the centre, the Virgin, seated on a characteristic Byzantine throne with a large cushion, is draped in purple robes ornamented with jewels. Her right hand was apparently raised. With her left she holds the Child seated on her lap. He is clothed in yellow, and grasps a roll with both hands. To the left is St. Paul in white pallium and tunic, with sandalled feet. On the end of the pallium which hangs down is the mark **I**. Beside him can be read +PAULVS. St. Peter, on the right, is represented in the same manner, but on his pallium is the mark **H**. Beside him is ρ ETRVS. To the left of Paul is Julitta, completely enveloped in a dark yellow garment coming over her head where it just shows a kind of turban underneath. She holds a small cross before her with the right hand, and with the covered left a jewelled crown. Her name is complete: $\overline{\text{SCA}} \cdot \text{IVLI} \overline{\text{FA}}$. She has of course the circular nimbus. Beyond her the last figure on the left is Pope Zacharias (741-752). He is vested in a dark yellow chasuble, over which is the ecclesiastical pallium, white with red crosses. He supports a jewelled book in his hands covered with the chasuble. The head, with its black hair and short beard, is sufficiently individual to suggest portraiture. Behind it is the square nimbus. The name is inscribed +ZACCHARIAS | PAPA (in two columns). *Sanctissimus*, which no doubt preceded the name, has disappeared. On the right of St. Peter stands Quiricus, represented with the stature of a boy. He is dressed like the Apostles, and his hands are raised and extended with the palms outwards in the ritual attitude of prayer. He stands on a small platform like the footstool of the throne. His head is encircled by a nimbus, and over him is inscribed (perpendicularly, as usual) $\kappa\text{S} + \text{CVIRICVS}$. Beyond him, to the right, and turning towards the centre of the picture, is an ecclesiastic vested in a chestnut-coloured chasuble covering his hands,

Christ is of a different type (Garrucci, vi. T. 459. 3. Westwood, *Fictile Ivories at S. Kensington*, p. 105). Cf. also Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* iii. T. xxxii. John not infrequently retains the book in mediaeval representations, even after the right hand has assumed a different attitude.

which support, as if presenting it to the Virgin, the model of a church. It is a small building with a semicircular red-tiled roof, a door with a window above it in the façade, and another door in the right side. As these features correspond more or less with the existing chapel, though it is not a detached building, we may suppose that the model was intended to represent it. The features of the donor have entirely vanished, but on either side of the square nimbus behind his head is inscribed :

+	THEODOVS · PRIMO · DEFENSORVM
ET DISPENSATORE	SCĒ · DĪ
GENETRICIS · SEN	PERQVE
BIRGO · MARIA · QVI	APPELATVR
ANTIQA α	

Between the initial cross and the beginning of the name the surface is destroyed, but the space shows that a word, perhaps a title (corresponding to *sanctissimus* in the case of the Pope) has disappeared. It is not easy to suggest a restoration. A donor of this age, in a votive inscription in the first person, generally speaks of himself as *indignus* or *infelix*,¹ but the case is different when, as here, the inscription is not a dedication but an identification or description. Perhaps some such word as *devotus* or *devotissimus* (contracted to DEV) occupied the space. *Primo*, as the line above it shows, is for *primicerio*, though in the 'Book of the Popes' the earliest mention of the office describes its holder as *defensorum primus*.² *Primicerio* illustrates the use of the ablative for the nominative, as in *dispensatore*; the origin of the Italian form.

Theodotus is known to us from two other sources. In the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria there still exists the inscription which records his rebuilding of the structure, and also gives the list of relics which then belonged to it. At this time—the date may be either 755 or 770: in any case later than the inscription in S. Maria Antiqua—he describes himself as *hōim dux nunc primicerius sca(ncta)e sed(is) Apostolicae et pater (h)uius ben(erabilis) diac(oniae)*.³ Further, in the *Liber Pontificalis* we are

¹ E.g. the deed of gift in S. Clemente begins: *infelix ego Gregorius primus presbyter*, &c. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 123, 172, T. vi. 1.

² *Lib. Pont.* i. under Constantine (708-715). For the office cf. Duchesne, *Premiers Temps de l'État Pontifical*, 46: 'personnes chargées des rapports avec les tribunaux, et notamment de l'exécution des sentences ecclésiastiques. C'est un service d'avouerie et de police.'

³ Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 174, T. iii. 5. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. 514, n. 2.

told that the future Pope Hadrian I. (772-795) on the death of his father had been brought up *a proprio thio Theodoto dudum consule et duce postmodum vero primicerio sanctae nostrae ecclesiae*.¹ Theodotus, then, was originally a military official who, probably in middle life, adopted the ecclesiastical career and reached one of the high positions in the Roman Church. But his connexion with S. Maria Antiqua was due to the fact that he was also the *dispensator* or administrator of one of the official charitable institutions known as *diaconiae* which had its seat in the church. In this respect he may be compared with the *dispensator* of another *diaconia*, S. Maria in Cosmedin, who, perhaps some fifty years later, in a deed of gift to the church describes himself as *inmeritus dux*.²

The reason for the interest taken by Theodotus in the saints to whom the chapel is dedicated, is not obvious. Quiricus and Julitta belong originally to Asia Minor, Tarsus being the scene of their martyrdom; and they were well known in the East, where they still retain their place in the Calendar on July 15th. In Italy, Ravenna possessed some of their relics,³ and at the end of the fifth century their names, at least, appear to have been known in Rome, for their apocryphal 'Acts' are among those condemned by the Roman Council of the year 495.⁴ But we have no reason to think that they were ever popular in Rome, and the only dedication to them in the city belongs to a much later period.⁵ On the other hand their cult seems to have been peculiarly frequent in Gaul. Their relics were said to have been brought to Auxerre at the end of the fourth century, and dedications of churches to them are numerous.⁶ In this connexion we cannot forget that, in the time of Zacharias, the relations between Rome and the Frankish kings were becoming intimate. It is only

¹ *Lib. Pont.* i. 486. *Thio*, i.e. *θεῖος*, 'zio,' 'uncle.'

² The inscription (still in the portico) is addressed to the Virgin (l. 5): *ego humillimus servulus tuus [E]ustathius inmeritus dux quem tibi deservire et huic scae tuae diaconiae dispensatorem effice iussisti*. Crescimbeni, *Istoria di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 62. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* v. 216. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. 520, n. 90.

³ *Acta SS.* June, vol. iii. 23 (in S. Giovanni Battista, founded in 438). They are commemorated in the Western Calendars on June 16th; *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, &c.

⁴ Mansi, *Concilia*, viii. 152. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lix. 164. Jaffé, *Regesta*, ii. 693 (Addenda), defends the authenticity of the decree of Gelasius, but cf. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 46.

⁵ *SS.* Quirico e Giulitta behind the Forum of Augustus. The foundation of the church is much older, but the present dedication first appears in the twelfth century. Armellini, *Chiese*, 172.

⁶ *Acta SS.*, June, vol. iii. 21. Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, 503. The dedication is even found in England.

with his successor that we find the Pope actually making a journey to France, but his predecessor had appealed for help to Charles Martel, and Zacharias himself had given his sanction to the accession of Pippin. It is remarkable that the name of Quiricus appears on one of Pippin's coins.¹ But who can say whether this temporary popularity of the saint originated in Rome or in Gaul, and which of the two learnt it from the other? All that we know is that communications between Rome and Gaul must have been frequent at the time, and therefore it is not impossible that the dedication of the chapel in S. Maria Antiqua may be, in some way or other, due to contemporary conditions. It is a curious coincidence, though perhaps nothing more, that the name-saint of Theodotus, also a martyr of the Diocletian persecution, is connected with another Julitta. He appears thus in the Roman Martyrology on May 18th. *Ancyrae in Galatia S. Theodoti martyris et sanctarum Thecusae eius amitae, Alexandrae, Claudiae, Fainae, Euphrasiae, Matronae et Iulittae virginum*. The virgins were martyred by being drowned in the lake, and Theodotus recovered the bodies and buried them. If we wanted to launch out into conjectures, we might suggest that Theodotus, the *dispensator* of S. Maria Antiqua, being first through his name connected with this group of saints, and later coming to know (whether from an Eastern or Western source) of the more famous Julitta of Tarsus (and her son Quiricus), may have confused the two; the difficulty of the difference in condition being perhaps concealed by the fact that the list of the virgin martyrs of Ancyra (see above) ended with *Matrona et Iulitta*.² Such cases of a name being mistaken for a description are, of course, not uncommon. However, any such explanation is perhaps unnecessary: it certainly cannot be proved.

We may now proceed to the story of Quiricus and Julitta as represented on the side-walls of the chapel (40). The series begins on the left wall at the end nearest to the door. The scenes here are a good deal damaged.

(i) On the left, the governor (in Byzantine official costume) is seated in front of a structure like the apse of a basilica. An attendant stands on either side of him. In the middle of the picture appears Julitta extending

¹ M. Prou, *Monnaies Carolingiennes*, p. 130, No. 927: on reverse *Sci Cirici*. On the other hand, the rediscovery of the relics at Auxerre, the translation of part of them to Nevers, and the dedication of the Cathedral there to 'St. Cyr,' only took place at the end of the eighth century. *Petits Bollandistes*, vii. 74.

² The same order is given in the *Acta Sincera*, c. xix. (Ruinart, 380).

her hand towards the governor, *i.e.* addressing him. Behind her on the extreme right is a soldier. They are standing in front of a wall, above which there are traces of a nimbed figure in yellow, apparently the same personage who is represented below. Behind this figure to the right is a red castellated building. There can be no doubt that this scene, following the 'Acts,'¹ represents Julitta, who had escaped from Iconium to Tarsus, arrested and brought before the *praeses* Alexander. The figure on the wall is perhaps intended to represent the fugitive outside the city. To the right of the governor's throne are the traces of the description (five lines), too fragmentary for connected restoration. It can be seen that it began with—

ubi SCA iulitta

and that it ended with some such phrase as

ducitur ad preSIdem

Possibly the word FVGIENS occurred in the middle, but the traces are very uncertain.

(ii) To the left is a gateway towards which Quiricus (+ $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ CVIRICVS over his head) is being led by a man in a short tunic. On the right a soldier with a lance holds him by the left arm. Behind him is a house.

This is the next episode in the Acts. Quiricus, on the arrest of his mother, had been concealed in a house outside the city ; but at the request of Julitta he was fetched in order to give his testimony before the *praeses*. With this agrees the description which seems to read :

ubi scs CVIRICVS A MILITIBVS DVCITVR

A word is inscribed perpendicularly in the gateway, perhaps the name of the city—Tarsus according to the Acts. The first letter which has survived is possibly an A. The second has disappeared. The last three are SIA. The name may have been given as *Tarsia*.

(iii) Almost entirely destroyed. The beginning of the description can be read + VBI $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ CVIRICVS C/// &c. The last letter is uncertain but is probably C. The next episode in the Acts is the examination of Quiricus, and his confession of faith. The inscription may have run: *Ubi scs. Cuiricus Christianum se confitetur.*

(iv) The flagellation of Quiricus, the next episode in the Acts (§ 4),

¹ The story, as is explained below, generally follows the later 'Acta' given in *Acta SS.* June 16th (vol. iii. 28). The edition of Antwerp, 1643, &c., is always cited.

Tunc iratus Praeses iussit contristari puerum et catomis caedi. On the left the governor, seated on his throne, stretches out his right hand with the first and second fingers extended and the third and fourth held down by the thumb, the regular gesture accompanying any solemn utterance, which still survives in the episcopal act of benediction.¹ On the right a man (beardless) in a short tunic holds Quiricus (name as usual), naked and face downwards, under his right arm. Another man on the left is flogging him with a small single-thonged whip. The executioner is represented with a long moustache and shaven chin. Above is the description,

+VBI·SCS·CVIRICVS·CATOMLEBATS·EST

The punishment of 'catomulevatio' occurs in several accounts of martyrdoms of children, and has been explained by Du Cange and the editors of the *Acta*, but we have never before had a representation of the process. It was clearly the same as the old-fashioned operation known as 'horsing.' *Catomo* or *catomu* (i.e. κατ' ὤμου 'down from the shoulder') *levari* or *suspendi* is the regular expression in the 'Acta,' and seems to be equivalent to *in humeros tolli*; but the phrase had come to mean a school-boy flogging generally; and in this case Quiricus, being only a *triennis puer*, is secured in a more convenient fashion.²

(v) Fairly well preserved. On the left, in front of a house, the governor wearing a chlamys with *tablion* and a yellow disc or *segmentum* on the arm of his tunic, is seated with an attendant behind him. Beside him is inscribed (in two columns) PRESES ALEXANDRVS. In the centre a man in tunic and chlamys (without the *tablion*) shows Quiricus to him. Quiricus extends his right hand with the gesture described above (iv). Behind him is Julitta. Both have their names inscribed as before. Above is the description :

+VBI·SCS·CVIRICVS·LINGVA·ISCISSA·LOQVIT | AT
PRESIDEM

¹ Apuleius, *Met.* ii. 21 : *porrigit dexteram, et ac instar oratorum conformat articulum; duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, ceteros eminus porrigit.* Cf. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 640; Lowrie, *Christian Art and Arch.*, 260.

² The older verb *catomidio* (with the same meaning; see Rich, *Dict. Ant.* s.v.) which appears in Petronius, 132, and Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, 18. 9, seems to have dropped out of use. Du Cange, *Gloss.* s.v. and the Bollandist editor in *Acta SS.* June, vol. ii. 1023 (SS. Vitus and Modestus), give examples of the later phrase. In such passages as that quoted above from the Acts of Quiricus (cf. Acts of Vitus and Modestus, June, vol. iii. 1022, § 4) where *catomo* or *catomis caedi* is used, the original meaning seems to have been forgotten, and *catomus* = 'the rod.'

This episode occurs in the Acts, but at a much later point (§ 16). *Impiissimus autem Praeses non est compunctus ex omnibus his, sed repletus diabolo vocavit medicum, dicens, Incidite puero linguam: non enim ferre possum incantationes et magicas artes eius. Cumque et hoc factum esset, divina virtute cepit loqui sanctus puer dixitque ad Praesidem: Aestimasti mihi verba posse auferri cum lingua, sed ego accepi a Deo spiritum organi, quem nec tu nec pater tuus diabolus extinguere potestis, ut insultem maliciosae infidelitati tuae, quia te extollis contra Deum.*

(vi) Damaged. On the left the governor was seated giving orders, but only the footstool of the throne can be seen. Above appears the tiled roof of a house. On the right is a building with tiled roof, representing the prison. At a window in its side the saints (with their names beside them) appear with hands raised in the attitude of prayer. Below, they were represented up to their middles in a caldron, with hands raised as above, but very little of this is left. Flames can be seen underneath. To the right Julitta's name is inscribed perpendicularly. In the 'Acta' this episode follows the cutting out of the tongue, as here (§§ 17-20). *Praeses dixit, Afferte cacabum, et mittite in eopicem, ceram, stuppam, et adhibete ignem.* (Julitta hesitates, but is restored to faith by her son's prayer.) *Haec dicens beata Iulitta ingressa sponte in cacabum cum filio benedixit Deum, et non est contristata ab igne neque laesa. Sanctus autem Cyricus orabat cum lacrimis, &c.* The imprisonment is mentioned as early as § 6. We may therefore restore the fragmentary description thus (cf. the next scene):

ubi scS CVIRICVS·CVMMATRE·suam in cacabum missi sunt.

We now turn to the right wall of the chapel where the series is continued at the end nearest the altar.

(vii) This scene is smaller than the others, as there was a recess in the wall (perhaps a credence) below it. It will be noticed that the painted frame of the next picture is also arranged to fit this. The Saints (nude, save for loin-cloths) are extended on a large flat receptacle which two men in short tunics are placing in position by means of a projecting handle at either end. The background of the scene is red, perhaps to represent fire. In the upper left-hand corner appears the Saviour (in a red, sleeved garment) stretching out His right hand, from which rays proceed, blessing the martyrs. His cruciform nimbus is flanked by two small nimbed angels (half-lengths) with raised hands. The description reads:

+VBI·SCS·CVIRICVS·CVMMATRE SVAM· | IN SARTAGINE·
MISSI SVNT·

There is nothing in the Acts exactly corresponding to the torture of the frying pan (*sartago*). Perhaps it is another version of what is narrated in § 12. *Iussit post haec Praeses affferri lectum aereum et imponi sanctum puerum supra eum.* This is the more probable as we shall see that the next words of the Acts illustrate the next scene in the chapel.

(viii) This is a rather long panel, and it contains two subjects. On the left Quiricus is standing between two men, one of whom (right) holds a large nail on the top of his head with one hand while he hammers it in with the other. Blood is spurting out from the saint's head. The executioner with the hammer has a moustache like the one in (iv). Above is an angel flying downwards with outstretched hand from which come rays of light. Beside him is inscribed ANGELVS. The description reads :

+VBI·SCS·CVIRICVS ACVTBV | CONFICITSET

Acutibu(s) (*acutis* would be the regular form) occurs as a synonym for *clavis* in the Acts of Martyrs (see Du Cange). After the inscription was painted an unsuccessful attempt was apparently made to convert the final T into an S for *est*. The subject is explained by the passage in the Acts which immediately follows the words quoted in (vii): *clavosque acutos infigi capiti eius, dicens ad eum, Si habes Deum certum, liberet te nunc de manibus meis : et statim angelus Domini de caelo veniens extraxit clavos qui fuerant infixi.*

The final episode of the martyrdom is represented in the other part of the picture. On the right, the Governor on his throne is giving orders, *i.e.* his right hand is stretched out with the "benediction" gesture. He is attended by two soldiers with conical helmets. Above him is inscribed PREsIDE. To the left, a man in a yellow tunic and white chlamys, which is flying away with the violent action, is swinging Quiricus by one leg. Above is part of the description which may be completed conjecturally,

+VBI SCs·CVIRICVS·IN terram illisus est.

In the later Acts, with which, as we have seen, most of the scenes correspond, Quiricus and his mother are finally beheaded (§ 22). In the older and simpler version of the Acts (see below) we read that the Governor, exasperated by the child's refusal to yield to his blandishments, *pede*

*arreptum e sublimi solio puerum terrae allidit.*¹ This seems to be the origin of the representation before us.

The story of Quiricus and Julitta has reached us in two forms: (i) The oldest is the letter of Theodore, bishop of Iconium, belonging to the age of Justinian.² The author states that it was intended to supersede the fabulous narratives of the martyrdom which, as we know from the decree of Gelasius (p. 44), were current at the end of the fifth century. The story in this form has been reduced to a comparatively small number of episodes. In particular, Julitta is arrested with Quiricus in her arms, and his death takes place at an early stage of the proceedings. (ii) The more elaborate story printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* dates, apparently, in its present form from the twelfth century.³ Most of the scenes in the chapel can be traced in it; but the paintings, or their originals, are evidently derived from a version in which the episodes were neither so multiplied as in the 'Acts,' nor given in quite the same order.

It may be convenient to give a table showing the correspondence between the scenes and the Acts:—

<i>S. Maria Antiqua</i>	<i>Acta Sincera</i>	<i>Acta SS.</i>
Scene	Ruinart, 503	June, vol. iii.
(i) =	c. ii	§ 1
(ii) =	—	2
(iii) =	—	? 2, 3.
(iv) =	—	4
(v) =	—	16
(vi) =	—	17
(vii) =	—	? 12
(viii) <i>a</i> =	—	12
<i>b</i> =	c. iii	

The series comes to an end just where the screen crossed the chapel. In the space between this and the small door leading to the sanctuary there are the remains of a large painting which, apparently, represented the Virgin and Child surrounded by donors (41). The upper part, with the heads of the principal figures, has gone. The Virgin was arrayed in a blue dress, and there is a footstool under her feet. Her left hand

¹ Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 504, c. iii.

² Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 502. *Acta SS.* June, vol. iii. 23.

³ *Acta SS.* June, vol. iii. 18.

touches the feet of the infant Christ. Everything above this has perished. To the left stands a personage in a yellow chasuble, holding in either hand a votive candle of a form which we shall see more clearly in a later picture (p. 52). Between him and the Virgin is a beardless male figure, in a dark red tunic and hose, of the proportions of a child. He is facing the spectator, but his hands are extended sideways towards the centre of the picture. Behind his head is a square blue nimbus. To the right of the Virgin, the figure corresponding to the personage in the chasuble on the other side, is much damaged. It probably represented a female, for it wears a red garment coming down to the feet, with two large circles on the lower part, and another ornament between them. Corresponding to the small male figure on the other side is a lady of similar proportions. She wears over a yellow dress a sort of shawl, white and fringed. From the



FIG. 4.—SKETCH SHOWING POSITION OF HANDS WITH FLOWER.

point where it is fastened in front, a long chain hangs down ending in a pendant. Her earrings are large hoops with depending ornaments, and she also wears a necklace. The upper part of the head is gone. Behind it is a square blue nimbus. She stands facing the spectator, her feet not resting on the ground. Her left hand is raised with the palm outwards and its thumb touching the little finger of the right hand, between the thumb and first finger of which she holds a red flower (Fig. 4). So much of the background as appears is green.

In the absence of any inscription, the most obvious supposition is that the picture represents Theodotus, not, as on the wall behind the altar, in his official, but in his private capacity, making, together with the members of his family, an offering to the Virgin, the patroness of the Church. The

other personages might then be his wife and children. It is possible that the small figures may represent adults, but the probabilities are the other way. The dress, in particular, of the male figure (the simple tunic) suggests a boy.

The picture contains several interesting details. In the first place, we see that the square nimbus is not confined to persons of a sacred or official character, for here we find it with the two small figures who, even if they are not children, appear to be of secondary importance. The motive of a flower held in the hand is not common in late-Roman and Byzantine art. The nearest analogy to our picture is the representation of Serena, the wife of Stilicho, on an ivory diptych at Monza.¹ She is standing with her right hand raised to the level of her shoulder, and holding between the thumb and first finger a flower, which also seems to be intended for a rose. It has been suggested that, as her left hand holds a *mappa* or handkerchief like the consuls in other diptychs, the flower may be some indication of authority or dignity.² The Virgin is not unfrequently represented in this epoch holding a handkerchief—we shall come presently to an instance in this church (p. 67), and in the same way she also occasionally holds a flower.³ If this is not a sign of dignity or a mere ornament, it might be explained as an emblem of herself.⁴ And so the lady in S. Maria Antiqua may be holding a rose as a sign of devotion to her patroness, the Virgin.

Lastly, we come to the paintings on either side of the door by which we entered the chapel from the aisle.

To the left is another votive picture (42). In the left corner, probably the same personage whom we have seen before, vested in a yellow chasuble and holding a lighted candle shaped like an ordinary wine bottle⁵ in each

¹ Gori, *Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*, ii. T. vii. Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels au Moyen Age*, i. T. i., &c. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, i. Fig. 332.

² C. Jullian in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1882, 28. The same idea had suggested itself to Gori (*op. cit.* 241), who thought that the Golden Rose, given by the Pope to individuals as a mark of honour, may have had its origin in this connexion. We should hardly be justified in supposing that the lady in S. Maria Antiqua had been a recipient of the Golden Rose, which does not appear before the eleventh or twelfth century (Cartari, *La Rosa d'Oro Pontificia*, Rome, 1681, p. 7 *sqq.*).

³ On the Anglo-Saxon ivory of the Adoration of the Magi in the South Kensington Museum (142-66), the Virgin holds a flower between the thumb and second finger of her right hand. In the Benedictional of Ethelwold at Chatsworth, the Virgin, in the scene of the Nativity, holds a golden lily in her left hand (Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Gt. Britain*, iii. 362).

⁴ Based on *Canticles*, ii. 1: 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.'

⁵ Qy. in order that it may stand upright of itself. In the next Roman representation of votive tapers that I can recall—the eleventh-century pictures in the lower church of S. Clemente—they have the form of coils of wax, no doubt for the same reason.

hand, is kneeling before Quiricus and Julitta, who stand facing the spectator. Their heads have disappeared, but they are represented as on the wall behind the altar, only that Quiricus holds a cross and crown, and Julitta has her right hand raised. Behind the figures is a red dado with yellow border. Above this the background is blue. If the kneeling figure is Theodotus, we at last get a portrait of him, for the face, bearded and of mature age, is well preserved. Behind it is the blue square nimbus. The picture, then, signifies his special devotion to the patrons of the chapel. The jambs of the door are decorated with rudely painted palm trees, like those of the niche above the altar.

To the right of the door the space is occupied by four saints (43). They are nimbed, and hold crosses and crowns. Three are women; the first completely enveloped in a dark red garment, while the others wear a yellow *palla* over white dresses edged with red. The last but one is a man (short-bearded), in Byzantine official costume (white tunic and chlamys with red tablion). Beside him is inscribed perpendicularly +SCS ARMENTISE. The name is complete and the letters certain. The other figures do not appear ever to have had names. The background is similar to that on the left of the door. Above the picture are the concluding words of an inscription,

///RIS · QORUM NOMINA · DS · SCET · ☩

the well-known formula for describing anonymous saints or martyrs.¹ Perhaps it was intended to commemorate the converts made by Quiricus during his prolonged martyrdom.² According to the Acts which we have so often quoted, more than a thousand such persons suffered with him (§ 23). If this be so, some *Acta* must have been used which gave details not in our version, such as the name Armentise. There appears to be no trace of such a saint in any of the Martyrologies.

It only remains to be added, that below the paintings all round the chapel (so far as the surface is preserved) there was a representation of yellow drapery with coarse black shading lines, just like that under the row of saints in the left aisle. They are so much alike in design and execution that it is difficult to believe they were not carried out by the same hands (not necessarily those of the painters of the pictures). We may

¹ E.g. in the inscription of Paschal I, of the year 817, in S. Prassede (l. 18): *ac s(an)c(t)orum octingentorum quorum nomina scit om(ni)p(oten)s* (Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 183).

² So Marucchi in *N. Bull. Arch. Chr.* vi. (1900) 308.

therefore infer that the paintings in the aisle were executed about the same time as those in the chapel, *i.e.* in the middle of the eighth century, or perhaps a little later.

They were not however by the same hand. The pictures in the chapel have a character of their own, though as works of art they may be described as elementary. The drawing and action of the figures in the martyrdom scenes is often better than the painting, which is coarse and rude. The two small angels (in monochrome) on either side of the head of Christ in scene (vii) are, relatively, quite excellent ; but they are an exception. There is very little ability to represent anything like a pictorial background. The isolated figures of saints and contemporary personages, especially those of the wall behind the altar, are more successful, as the larger scale gave some opportunity for breadth of treatment. In them we may notice that the flesh is painted in white and pink on a ground of green, after the manner familiar from the pictures of the earliest Italian Renaissance. The Crucifixion in its expression, relief, and vivid colouring, is far the most favourable specimen of this local Roman art of the eighth century. For local it must surely be. The elementary character of the work, and the characteristic Latin descriptions, alike testify that we are dealing with products of the local conditions of Rome in that age. On the other hand, the designs may well go back to some Byzantine series of illustrations of the life of the saints. The scenes are quite in the character of those in the Greek Menologies. To take only one detail, the small figures of Christ and angels, such as we have noticed in (vii) and (viii), occur regularly in the well-known Menologium of Basil II. in the Vatican.¹

The only parallel at Rome for a series of pictures illustrating the "Acts" of one or more saints which has come down to us from Byzantine times is (or rather was) to be found at S. Prassede where, till within the last few years, were to be seen fragments of the stories of the martyrs whose bodies Paschal I (817-824) transferred to the church. There can be little doubt that the pictures were executed at the same time. Each of them was accompanied by a description in the same form as at S. Maria Antiqua.²

We now pass through the side-door into the Sanctuary (E). We are

¹ So too the twelfth century MS. of Symeon Metaphrastes in the British Museum (Add. 11870) contains many analogies.

² *E.g.* VBI SCS IVLIANVS FVSTIBVS CEDITVR. Armellini, *Chiese*, 242. There is nothing to be seen of the pictures now.

at once struck by the fact that its walls have been decorated more than once, for where the plaster has fallen another painted surface (in some cases more than one) is revealed. Still, the principal features which meet the eye belong to one time and one decorative scheme, and it will be most convenient to make this the basis of our description.

The three walls of the Sanctuary exhibit a single design. The main subject is the Gospel History, depicted in two rows of scenes on the side-walls, and reaching its climax in the Crucifixion portrayed on the wall above the apse, but as a symbolic and theological rather than as an historical fact. On the side-walls, below the Gospel scenes, appear the Apostles; and on the spaces flanking the apse the four Fathers. The design was completed by the usual dado of drapery, into which however in this case figures are introduced. We cannot be sure what was represented in the apse, for the work of a later age conceals this part of the scheme. But there can be little doubt that it was either a 'Majesty,' *i.e.* Christ enthroned (as in the later work which we have before us), or else the patroness of the church, Mary with her Son, surrounded by saints or angels.

We will begin with the side-walls. On the left only the last scene of either row has survived in the right corner. The upper one is the Adoration of the Magi (43). On the left the three Magi (with *mAGI* inscribed above) in conventional Oriental costume with Phrygian caps advance towards the Virgin and Child seated on the right. The Child has a cruciform nimbus, and extends its right hand. Behind stands Joseph with the name *IOSEF* beside him. The foremost of the Magi is kneeling as he presents a casket with his covered hands. The second and third are also carrying offerings, and apparently are speaking to one another. Between the Virgin and the Magi an angel (half-length) with wings extended and holding a staff, turns towards the Magi and points to the Child. All the figures except the Magi are nimbed.

The story was continued on the opposite wall in the left corner. Of the upper row of scenes very little is left. The first was no doubt the Presentation in The Temple (44). On the left the nimbi round the heads of three figures can be seen. Over the first is inscribed *ANNA* and to the right of the second *+IOSEF* (the last three letters perpendicularly). To the right are remains of draped figures.

The following scene was in the country, for the ground is covered with tufts of flowers in a style which recalls some Byzantine miniatures. All

the figures have disappeared. The subject may have been the Flight into Egypt.

Beyond this the upper row of scenes has entirely vanished on this wall. Returning to the left wall, below the Adoration of the Magi the Procession to Calvary (45) is fairly well preserved. In the centre, Christ with the cruciform nimbus, robed in dark red, and with the right hand extended, is advancing in the midst of a crowd of figures. He is preceded by Simon the Cyrenian (in short tunic) carrying the cross on his shoulder. Above the latter is inscribed (in three lines)

SIMON | CYRENĒ|SISṽ.

The Crucifixion itself is represented on the wall above the apse. We pass this by for the moment, and continue the story on the second row of scenes on the right wall. Remains of five can be made out. They must illustrate the story between the Crucifixion and the Ascension. The first scene in the left-hand corner has gone. It must have represented the Resurrection. The next (46) shows Christ in the centre. The right arm is raised and bare, but the figure is draped. The palm of the hand is simply open. On either side of him is a group of Apostles over each of which was inscribed +APOSTOLI. Behind the group on the right is a house. The composition at once recalls the scene of the 'Incredulity of Thomas' as it appears in Byzantine MSS. and mosaics, though of a later date than this painting.¹ The next scene is very fragmentary, but there can be seen on the left a group of Apostles (+APŌSTOLĭ above) in a boat with oars on the sea (blue with red fish swimming in it). On the right is the lower part of the figure of Christ standing on the shore. It is obviously the scene of the Appearance on the Lake of Tiberias which follows the Incredulity of Thomas in the Byzantine Manual.² Only the lower half of the two last scenes remains. In the first of these there was a figure standing in the centre. To the left another, bending forwards, apparently with out-stretched hands. Perhaps the subject was the Charge to Peter. In the last panel a draped figure is moving towards the right. Back-

¹ The subject is described in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 320). The miniature in the twelfth-century Gospels in the British Museum (Harl. 1810, f. 261 b.) is typical. The subject appears with the same main outlines in the church of S. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, 49, Pl. 38) on which see Diehl in *Mélanges* for 1889, p. 41, who says that he knows of no earlier example.

² Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 321.

ground of hills. In the right corner is a group of buildings, above which can be read *ciVITas*, but the name itself is gone. The subject was, perhaps, the Appearance upon the Mount of Galilee, the Ascension being reserved for some more prominent position.¹

Below the historical scenes on the side-walls was a series of busts of the Apostles in circular medallions with yellow backgrounds which give the effect of a nimbus. The medallions are represented as attached to a substantial rope of oak leaves (black and white with a red background) stretched along the wall. On the left wall four heads are tolerably preserved. Beginning from the left the first fragment is inscribed (on the background, in two columns) *+BARThOLOmeus*. Of the next medallion nothing is left. The three which follow are fairly intact. They are inscribed respectively: *+IOHANNES*, *+ANDREAS*, *+PAVLVS*. The heads, of classical type, recall those of the Apostles in various Roman mosaics, and have nothing in common with the Byzantine representations.² On the right wall the first two heads from the left (one of which must have been St. Peter) have disappeared. Part of the background of the third, showing an M, has survived. The fourth head has black hair and pointed beard, the fifth grey hair and pointed beard, and the last represents a younger man with a short beard. All the names have vanished.

The dado of drapery is separated from these medallions by a narrow band of plaster, moulded or stamped with a running pattern of scrolls of conventional foliage enclosing alternately flowers and fruit or seed vessels. The style is quite classical. We must imagine that the design was picked out in colour. There are a number of examples of such work in late Roman and Byzantine architecture. For instance, in the south porch of S. Sophia at Constantinople a plaster frieze is described as "a scroll throwing out acanthus leaves and fruits like poppy seed-vessels. The background is coloured blue."³

The drapery of the dado is white with a pattern of birds in yellow circles. It is finer than that which we have hitherto met with, and the

¹ Cf. the order of the scenes in the Manual; Didron, *l.c.* 321.

² Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 356. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 43. *E.g.* in S. Maria Bartholomew has a white beard; in the Byzantine representations he is a youthful personage. On the other hand, John is beardless, as usual in Western art; the Byzantine type is an old man with a long beard.

³ Lethaby and Swainson, *Sancta Sophia*, 290. The design in S. Maria Antiqua is almost exactly the same as one on a seventh-century door near Safa in Syria. De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, T. 24 and p. 69; reproduced in Cattaneo, *Architettura in Italia*, Fig. 24.

folds and shading are less rudely painted. To the left of the side-door in the right wall it stops in order to leave room for a tall panel of the same height, which contains the figure of a nimbed woman holding a child in her arms (47). The latter has a necklace and earrings, and holds in front what may be the upright of a yellow cross, but the fall of the plaster has carried away the hand and the cross-bar. There is no trace of a nimbus. To the left of the figure is inscribed perpendicularly + Η ΑΓΙΑ. The name which was on the right has disappeared. Apart from the manner in which the child is represented, one would not expect to find the Virgin in such a subordinate position as this picture occupies, and in all probability the figures represent St. Anne and the infant Mary. On the opposite or left wall, halfway between the side-door and the angle, there are the remains of a similar figure holding a child, who appears to have a cruciform nimbus (48). Of the inscription only ΑΓΙΑ remains, but there can be little doubt that the Virgin and Child were represented here. There was no figure on this wall exactly corresponding to the one opposite, *i.e.*, immediately to the right of the door into the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta. But, though the fall of the plaster has destroyed all traces, we may certainly suppose that there was another in the middle of the dado on the right wall corresponding to the remains on the left. We thus get a series of Holy Mothers, just as in another part of the church we shall find, in a painting of later date, Mary, Elizabeth, and Anne, again associated in their character of mothers (p. 82).

Immediately to the left of the panel (47), on the dark blue background behind the looped up drapery of the dado, the letters ΘΑ, forming the end of a word, are inscribed perpendicularly.

We now turn to the end-wall of the Sanctuary (49). The paintings here cover the whole wall up to the crown of the barrel-vault. They are much damaged, especially in the upper portion where only the right side remains. The scheme is arranged in horizontal bands continued on either side of the apse down to the drapery dado. Including the latter, there were six (perhaps seven) such bands or zones.

On the highest zone only fragments of the right half of the Crucifixion scene remain. The figure on the Cross was not draped. The head was erect, with open eyes, and surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. Above the Cross on either side two seraphim were represented in the

form of a head surrounded by six wings, the insides of which are covered with eyes. They rest on red clouds. Below is the nimbus of one of the figures at the foot of the Cross, viz., John. The space to the right of the Cross is occupied by a crowd of white-robed angels, standing turned towards the Saviour, and bending forwards in adoration; the hands held in front with the palms outwards. The inner group is robed in red, and the outer in white drapery of the classical pattern. Their feet are sandalled. Even in their damaged condition some of the heads are of great beauty. They stand at about the level of the body of Christ on the Cross, and the space below them on either side of the Crucifixion group was occupied by two blocks of inscriptions (11 lines), of which, as stated above, only that on the right survives.

The inscriptions, which are painted in white letters on a red ground, consist of passages from the Prophets relating to the Passion, taken from the Septuagint. Each passage is preceded by the name of the Prophet from whom it is taken. The lines read as shown on the following page.¹

The words are not spaced in the original. The diphthong *ou* is always written *8*.

Apart from cases of vernacular spelling (*e.g.*, the exchange of *ε* and *αι* in *θυγατεραις* l. 1, *θησομε* l. 7, *οψεσθαι* l. 10) the quotations are treated with a certain amount of freedom, chiefly in the way of omissions. This is specially noticeable in the first passage, and was no doubt due to exigencies of space. The last two passages require some explanation. (iv) is taken from Baruch, and it may be remarked that it appears under his name in the Byzantine Manual, though in a different connexion.² Among the mosaics in the nave of S. Sophia at Constantinople this text is inscribed on a scroll held by Jeremiah,³ and the combination is found again on the eleventh-century bronze doors of St. Paul's without the Walls.⁴ There can be little doubt that the same attribution existed in S. Maria Antiqua for the final letters of the name of the Prophet preceding the text are *AC* which, in view of the instances given above, can only be restored as

¹ As the height is great and I had not an opportunity of seeing the inscription close at hand, I give Marucchi's copy made shortly after the discovery (*Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.* vi. (1900). 296. I have corrected it where possible.

² Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 294.

³ Salzenberg, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*, T. xxx. i. So, too, in the twelfth-century Byzantine mosaics of the church of the Martorana at Palermo.

⁴ Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 39, gives the words on the scroll as *Hic D(ominu)s n(oste)r et n(on) imputabitur alius.*

σ ^α λομ ^ω ν ^η ς ^ε η ^λ θ ^α τε	Θ ^υ γ ^α τ ^ε ρ ^α ις ^ι λ ^μ εν τ ^ω σ ^τ ε ^φ αν ^ω ο ^ν ε ^σ τε	(i)	Canticles iii. 11.
φ ^α νω ^σ εν ^{αι} αυ ^τ ον ^η η ^μ η ^ρ αυ ^τ ου ^ς εν η ^μ ε ^ρ α ν ^υ μ ^φ ε ^υ ς ^ε ω ^ς αυ ^τ ου ^ς εν η ^μ ε ^ρ α			
ευ ^φ ρο ^σ υ ^ν η ^ς αυ ^τ ου ^ς †ζ ^α χ ^α ρι ^α ς ^ο κ ^ς συ εν αι ^{μα} τι δια ^θ η ^κ η ^ς ε ^ξ α ^π ε ^σ τε ^ι λ ^α ς		(ii)	a. Zechariah ix. 11.
δε ^σ μ ^ι ο ^υ ς ^ο υ ^ς εκ λα ^κ ου ^ς ο ^υ κ ε ^χ ον ^τ ο ^ς υ ^δ ω ^ρ ς ^κ ε ^σ ται εν εκ ^ι ν ^η ι τ ^η η ^μ ε ^ρ α			b. xiv. 6, 7.
ο ^υ κ ε ^σ ται φ ^ω ς α ^λ λ ^α ψ ^υ χ ^ο ς ^κ πα ^γ ο ^ς ε ^σ ται ^κ η ^μ ε ^ρ α εκ ^ι ν ^η γ ^ν ω ^σ ο ^η τ ^ω κ ^ω κ			
ο ^υ χ η ^μ ε ^ρ α κ ^ο υ ^ν ε ^κ π ^ρ ο ^ς ε ^σ π ^ε ρ ^α ε ^σ ται φ ^ω ς ^ο +α ^μ ω ^ς κ ^α υ ^ς ε ^τ αι ο ^η λ ^ι ο ^ς		(iii)	Amos viii. 9. 10.
με ^σ η ^μ β ^ρ ια ^ς κ ^ς συ ^σ κο ^τ α ^ς ει ^ε π ^ι τ ^η ς ^γ η ^ς εν η ^μ ε ^ρ α τ ^ο φ ^ω ς ^κ ο ^η ς ^ο μ ^ε αυ ^τ ον			
ω ^ς π ^ε ν ^θ ο ^ς α ^γ α ^π ι ^τ ου ^ς κ ^ς το ^ι ς ^μ ε ^τ αυ ^τ ου ^ς ο ^ς η ^μ ε ^ρ α ο ^α υ ^ν η ^ς ο ^ς			
ιε ^ρ ε ^μ α ^ς ο ^υ το ^ς ο ^ς ο ^ς η ^μ ω ^ν ο ^υ λο ^γ η ^ς ο ^ρ ι ^ς ε ^τ αι ε ^τ ε ^ρ ο ^ς π ^ρ ο ^ς αυ ^τ ον	(sic)	(iv)	Baruch iii. 36.
////ο ^ψ ο ^ν τ ^{αι} ει ^ς ο ^ν ε ^ξ ε ^κ εν ^τ ι ^ς αν [†] κ ^ς ω ^ψ ε ^σ θ ^{αι} τ ^η ν ^ς ζω ^η ν υ ^μ ω ^ν κ ^ρ ε ^μ ε ^ν η ^ν		(v)	a. John xix. 37.
α ^π ε ^ν α ^ν τι ^ς τ ^ω ν ^ς ω ^φ θ ^α λ ^μ ω ^ν υ ^μ ω ^ν +ο ^ς			b. Deuteronomy xxviii. 66.

ιερεμιΑC.¹ Baruch is frequently quoted as Jeremiah by the earlier Christian writers.²

The name of the Prophet from whom (v) is taken has disappeared, but as all the other cases come from the Old Testament we may assume that it was ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC, though the words come from John xix. 37, and not from Zechariah xii. 10, where the LXX have ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο. (v) δ ought to have been preceded by the name ΜΩΥCΗC, for the passage comes from Deuteronomy xxviii. 66 (καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου), interpreted as an allusion to the brazen serpent, the type of the Crucifixion (John iii. 14). As such it appears in the Byzantine Manual³ and, e.g., on the doors of St. Paul's without the Walls.⁴

The succeeding zone shows a crowd of persons standing, turned towards the centre of the picture, with opened hands, adoring the Crucified. The details are indistinguishable, but there can be little doubt that the scene is a version of the worship of the Lamb by the redeemed as expressed in such passages as Rev. v. 8 *sqq.*; vii. 9 *sqq.*; xiv. 1 *sqq.*

There appears to be a considerable gap below these figures before we come to the next zone; too wide for a mere border. Probably it was occupied by another band of figures.

The upper edge of the zone below this coincides with the crown of the apse, which therefore cuts it. That it forms part of the same design as the upper scenes is shown by the continuous framing border on the extreme right; which is intact from the top of the wall downwards, and encloses all the zones on this side.

Four nimbed bishops are represented, two on either side of the apse, turning towards the centre. Those on the left are very faint, but it is clear that the one on the extreme left had a square nimbus, and was therefore a contemporary person, the founder of the Church or donor of the pictures. As the fragmentary inscriptions show that the pair on the right are Popes, it is probable that the others are also. We will postpone for the moment the identification of the contemporary Pope. The figures on the right are

¹ Not noticed by Marucchi.

² Cf. Swete, *Introduction to the Greek Old Testament*, 274, for instances from Irenaeus, Tertullian, &c.

³ Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 296.

⁴ Ciampini, *Ist. Mon.* i. 39, gives the words on the scroll held by Moses: *videvitis vita(m) v(est)ra(m) penden(tem)*.

vested in the usual way, and hold books in their hands covered by the chasuble. They stand in front of a low wall painted green, supporting short fluted columns without capitals, between which hang festoons of red drapery. On either side of their heads the name was inscribed in the form *S(an)c(tu)s . . . P(a)p(a) Romanus*. The letters have entirely disappeared on the left side. For the figure immediately to the right of the apse there only remains (on the right), *rOMaNVs* (the first three letters perpendicularly). The second figure has to the left of the nimbus, *SCs MARTinus* (in three lines),¹ and to the right *PP ROMANVS* (the last word perpendicularly). It can only be Martin I. (649-655). He seems to be represented with the tonsure and a short beard.

The subjects on the wall spaces flanking the apse which form the next zone have almost perished on the left, and on the right are, in their present state, confused with remains of earlier and later strata of painting. A close examination however shows that the decorative scheme which we have been describing was continued here by full-length figures of the Fathers (two on either side), standing facing the spectator. They were separated from the drapery dado below them, which is a continuation of that on the side-walls (p. 57), by an inscription in large white letters on a red ground. From its position and importance we may suppose it to have been the dedicatory inscription of the whole work, but only fragments of the left half remain.² They read:—

+SCAE · DI *genetrICI SEMperque virgini marIAE* ·

Of the Fathers on this side practically nothing is left but the nimbus and name of the first from the left: +SCS AGVSINVS. On the right of the apse more is preserved. The heads, surrounded by the same large yellow nimbi, at once betray by their style that they come from the same hand which painted the medallions of the Apostles (p. 57). The (perpendicular) inscriptions identify the figures as Gregory Nazianzen and Basil. They read:

(Left) +O AΠOC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙος (right) O ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ :

(Left) +O ΑΓΙΟCΒ (right) ΒΑCΙΛΙος.

Mere traces of the drapery dado remain, as it has been covered up by later work.

¹ Marucchi (*l.c.* 298) gives + SCS MARTINVS.

² Facsimile by Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, Jan. 1901, p. 229.

From similarity of style we may associate with these paintings the work on the low screen walls which enclose the space between the two piers of the peristyle in front of the Sanctuary. Only the portion on the right (50) has preserved its decorations. The lateral screens on the inside (*i.e.* the side open to the Sanctuary) were worked into a seat covered with plaster, which is not returned on the cross-wall between the Sanctuary and the central part of the church. The surface which forms as it were the back of the seat was decorated on this side with three scenes. The first (from the left) is almost entirely destroyed, but apparently there was a background of mountains, as in the next panel. This is well preserved, and shows David (in a short tunic with a staff in his hand) standing over the prostrate body of Goliath. Behind are two hills, and the foreground is covered with tufts of flowers. The only inscription is (in two lines) **GOLIATH**. The third picture shows Isaiah warning Hezekiah of his approaching death. The prophet on the right, with a roll in one hand, raises the other with the 'benediction' gesture towards the king, who is lying on a bed (of the characteristic Byzantine shape seen also in the story of Joseph) and turns his face away towards the left. Between them, in the background, is a small beardless figure in white, apparently with a cruciform nimbus, and holding what may be a cross-staff. The inscriptions give:

+HEZECHIAS REX ☩

+SAIAS | PROPHETA

+DISPONE DOMVI TVAE | QVIA MORIERIS ☩¹

The pictures are separated by panels treated with a design of intersecting circles divided into sections of different colours (Fig. 5). We shall find it repeated in other parts of the Church.

From the collocation of these scenes it is obvious that they do not belong to a series illustrating the Old Testament history, but are selected as types of the Gospel. As we shall see later, they were probably continued all round the screens which enclosed the choir (p. 88). The two scenes which have been just described typify respectively the victory of Christ over the powers of evil,² and the Resurrection.³

¹ Isaiah xxxviii. 1.

² Cf. the passage of Augustine which is read as a comment on I. Samuel xvii. in the Roman Breviary (Dominica iv. post Pentecosten. Lect. vi.). *Venit enim verus David Christus, qui contra spiritalem Goliath, id est contra diabolum pugnaturus, crucem suam ipse portavit.*

³ Cf. II. Kings xx. 5. 'Behold I will heal thee: on the third day thou shalt go up into the house of the Lord.'

Before we attempt to discover the date of these pictures let us first form some conception of their character as works of art, in order that our judgment may not be prejudiced by any preconceived ideas as to the style of a particular epoch. The condition of the walls compels us to draw our inferences mainly from the group of adoring angels, the medallions of the Apostles, and the small historical scenes. Their unity, so far as it is possible to speak with any certainty of mere wrecks of painting, is one of design rather than of execution. In fact it is obvious that several hands must have been employed in carrying out such an extensive scheme. But in looking at the fragments, one thing at least is clear, and that is that we have entered a different sphere of art from that to which the paintings previously examined belong. The general character of the wall-pictures

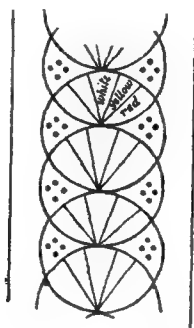


FIG. 5.—PATTERN OF INTERSECTING CIRCLES.

before us may best be described as 'classical,' that is to say they present analogies with Roman art not only in such things as freedom of drawing and the types of the heads (the group of adoring angels is specially noticeable) but also in the method of modelling the forms in colour with which we are familiar in Roman wall-paintings. This may best be seen in the female figure (47) to the left of the side door, thoroughly Roman in character, and modelled with a firm and skilful hand. The heads of the Apostles are drawn with harder lines, but the types are again classical in character. The small historical scenes present some analogies with the miniatures in Byzantine Biblical MSS.,¹ but the attitude and drapery of the

¹ This appears chiefly in details such as the shape of the bed on which Hezekiah is lying, the two hills which form the background to the scene of David and Goliath, and the tufts of flowers

figures, and the method by which relief is given to them, all suggest the classical style of painting.

There remains the question of date. The paintings themselves fortunately provide the limits of time within which their execution must fall. The figure of the canonised Pope Martin I., who was banished to the Crimea for opposing the compromise by which Constans II. tried to close the Monothelete controversy and died there in 655, gives us the date before which the work cannot have been begun. On the other hand, it must have been executed before (probably a considerable time before) the accession of Paul I. (757) whose contemporary portrait in the apse (see below, p. 73) shows that that portion was redecorated in his time. In this interval of about a century is there any Pope to whose patronage the work can be attributed? An obvious answer is provided by the *Liber Pontificalis*, where in the life of John VII. (705-707) we read, *Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genetricis, qui Antiqua vocatur, pictura decoravit*.¹ There can be little doubt then that he is the bishop represented on the extreme left of the zone of Popes, in the character of donor.

John VII. stands out among the Popes of his epoch as the initiator of considerable artistic works (with which, the 'Book of the Popes' tells us, his portrait was always associated)² both in the City churches, and above all in the mosaics of his famous chapel of the Virgin in the Atrium of St. Peter's, to which we have already had occasion to refer (p. 41). The latter survived till its destruction in the seventeenth century, and fragments of it are still preserved at Rome in the crypt of St. Peter's, in the Lateran Museum, and in S. Maria in Cosmedin, and at Florence in the church of S. Marco. A comparison between these fragments and the paintings of S. Maria Antiqua at once suggests itself, but the difference of the medium makes the results disappointing. Small scenes in mosaic are never very successful, and in this case the unskilfulness of the workmen has increased the rudeness and coarseness of effect, and conveys the impression that the fragments belong to a much lower level of art than the contemporary pictures. Nevertheless if the imagination translates the mosaics back into the original designs from which they were

covering the ground there and in other instances. All these may be found, e.g. in the well-known Byzantine Bibles in the Vatican Library (Gr. 746, 747).

¹ *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

² *Lib. Pont. l.c.*: *Fecit vero et imagines per diversas ecclesias quas, quicumque nosse desiderat, in eis eius vultum depictum reperiet.*

copied, it is possible to see that the latter were much freer and better drawn. This (in spite of much restoration) is especially the case with the fragment representing the Adoration of the Magi in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin, where the angel, standing, as in the picture in S. Maria Antiqua, between the Virgin and the Magi, must have been copied from a drawing of considerable merit and quite classical in character. It is still more interesting to notice that the scene in its complete state (preserved in drawings made before its destruction) was practically identical in treatment with the painting in S. Maria.¹

If these pictures were executed by the orders of John VII., one of them calls for special notice. We have already seen that the Crucifixion in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta was almost identical with John's mosaic of the same subject at St. Peter's (p. 41). The Crucifixion proper in the Sanctuary here, apart from its adjuncts, is too much damaged for any exact comparison to be made, but in one feature at least it belongs to an entirely different type. The Christ is nude, save for the loin-cloth (*perizoma*). It might be suggested that the picture in S. Maria was earlier than the mosaic of St. Peter's, but when we consider how different is the setting of the scene here, it is perhaps not surprising that a different type was used. Nevertheless it would be difficult to find a parallel to it at this epoch.²

We can now suggest as a restoration of the fragmentary dedicatory inscription (p. 62),

*S(an)c(t)ae D(e)i genetrici semperque Virgini Mariae | qui appellatur Antiqua Iohannes ind(ignus) ep(iscopus) fecit.*³

We must now examine the fragments of painting in the Sanctuary which are either earlier or later than the decorations of John VII. The latter were apparently the only treatment which the back wall above the apse ever received. But the apse itself, and still more the spaces on either side of it were frequently redecorated. The fragments are best preserved and the different strata most easily distinguished on the space to the right of the apse.

¹ Garrucci, iv. T. 279, 280.

² The nude Christ appears in the earliest representations (*e.g.* the doors of S. Sabina at Rome, and the ivory box in the British Museum, both probably of the fifth century). Both types occur in the eleventh-century Byzantine Psalter in the British Museum (Add. 19352, f. 87b, 96a, 172b).

³ The form is suggested by John VII.'s inscription at St. Peter's (Garrucci, iv. T. 279, p. 97; De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 418).

Here the lowest and earliest, and now, by the accident of the fall of the later surface, the most prominent figure is the Virgin, robed and crowned like a Byzantine Empress, seated on a jewelled throne with curved arms. The Child is seated on her lap, and both face the spectator (51). In her left hand the Virgin holds what appears to be a handkerchief marked with a cross.¹ The Child holds a jewelled book. To the right can be detected the lower portion of a white-robed figure offering to the Virgin, or rather to the infant Christ, his crown (therefore a martyr) supported by the covered hands. The picture, which is well preserved, is elementary in drawing and modelling (*e.g.* the hands), coarse and crude in effect, and altogether much inferior to the paintings of John VII. It is in fact, just such work (possibly as old as the second half of the sixth century) as we might expect to find in a church which had no special importance until it was taken under the patronage of a Pope. We must suppose that the Madonna originally formed the centre of a symmetrical composition, and that the picture is therefore older than the construction of the apse which destroyed the left side (together with part of the Virgin's throne), containing, no doubt, another saintly figure corresponding to the one on the right, and extending as far as the rectangular niche in the middle of the wall (p. 21).

When the apse was constructed the remains of this picture were covered up by another of which all that has survived is two heads, apparently of angels turning towards one another. Some of their white drapery can be seen, and also part of the wing of the one to the right. Probably they were standing on either side of a Madonna (all trace of whom has disappeared); so that the original subject, the patroness of the Church, was repeated in a new form. The well painted heads, with their classical features and liquid eyes, remind one of ancient Roman painting. This subject was, in its turn, replaced by the (presumable) work of John VII. *i.e.* the figures of the Fathers (p. 62).

When we turn to the space on the left of the apse, where the fall of the plaster has revealed the lower part of the earlier strata more fully, we see that the earliest was a panel of elaborate but rather coarsely painted imitation of marble incrustation, forming a dado.²

¹ Cf. p. 52.

² Portions of this can also be seen on the side-walls of the Sanctuary, but there are no indications of what came above it there.

Probably this belongs to the same series of decorations as the Madonna on the other side. The upper part of the design is concealed from us. It was covered up at a later date by two full-length figures, to which corresponded two similar figures on the other side of the apse. Those on the left are the best preserved. Their dress shows that they are bishops, for like the figures in the body of the church (p. 35) they are vested in chasubles (dark red or brown) over dalmatics with red borders to the sleeves, and round their necks they wear the sacred pallium marked with Maltese crosses. In front of them they hold opened scrolls covered with Greek lettering. The two figures on the right of the apse are more fragmentary, but here it can be seen clearly that they are later than the Madonna; and though by the one to the left, only $\Theta \text{ ΑΓΙΟC}$, but not the name, is preserved, the name of the one to the right remains legible, ΙΩΑΝΝΗC .¹ They must therefore represent four Fathers of the Church, the last of the four being St. John Chrysostom; and the scrolls which they hold should contain quotations from their works. Enough is left of the bearded faces and of the drapery to show that the style of painting was coarse. The figures were covered up at a later date by John VII.'s series of Fathers, and the drapery dado belonging to it.

The names in every case but one have disappeared, and we are left to conjecture what they may have been, unless the writing on the scrolls can provide some clue. Those on the left are fairly well preserved, but those to the right of the apse are very fragmentary. The following are the results which appear. We begin as usual from the left:

- (i) At the beginning three or four lines have disappeared.

Θ
 ΙΟΙ ΑCΟΠ
 ΕΡΕΙΔΗΟΝΕCΧ
 ΗΚΕΝΤΟ/ΙΙΕΝΑ
 ΟΓΟVΚΑΤC/ΑΖΟ
 ΜC/ΟVΟ/ΡΕCΤ
 ΗΝΤΟVΛ//ΟV·Τ
 ΟVΔΕCΟΜΑΤΟCΕΚ

¹ The name has misled Federici (*l.c.* 29, 32) into thinking that they are the four Evangelists. The dress alone would make this impossible.

ΤΕΛΟΝΤΟCC ΙΕΡΕCΤΗ
 ΝΤΟΝCΟΜΑΙΩC·ΚΑΙΤ
 ΟΜΕΝ/ΥΤΟΝΔ///Α/
 ΤΥCΘΑΥΜΑCΙΝΤΟΔΕ
 ΤΥCΥΒΙCCEΙΝΥΠΟ
 ΠΕΠΤΟΚΕΝ ∞

This is a quotation from the Greek version of the famous 'Tome' of St. Leo, *i.e.*, the letter which he wrote to Flavianus, Bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 449 against the heresy of Eutyches, and he is the Father represented in the painting.¹ The passage is taken from Ch. 4, and should be read on the scroll as follows : ²

[Ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκα-
 τέρα μορφή με-
 τὰ τῆς θατέρου
 [κοι]νων[ί]ας ὅπ-
 ερ ἴδιον ἔσχ-
 ηκεν· τοῦ μὲν λ-
 όγου κατε[ρ]γαζο-
 μέ[ν]ου ὁ[π]ερ ἐστ-
 ἰν τοῦ λ[όγ]ου, τ-
 οῦ δὲ σώματος ἐκ-
 τελοῦ<ν>τος ὅπερ ἐστὶ-
 ν τοῦ σώματος· καὶ τ-
 ὸ μὲν [α]ὐτῶν δ[ιαλ]ά[μπει]
 τοῖς θαύμασιν, τὸ δὲ
 ταῖς ὑβρεσιν ὑπο-
 πέπτωκεν.

(ii.) Parts of all the lines (eleven) are preserved.

	ΥΤΟΨΟC
//Λ	ΕΝΟΝΟΝΧ
/ΝΑΙ	ΟΘCΛΗ
/Α	ΥΔΕΓΑ

¹ The identification is due to the Rev. F. E. Brightman.

² Labbe-Cossart, *Concilia*, iv. 1220. Mansi, *Concilia*, v. 1377 A. cf. vi. 959. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, liv. 768, and see the Introduction to the Letter for illustrations of the use of the Tome in the church services at Rome.

Ι Ε C T Ι N T Ο Ε Μ Ο N
 Τ Ο V C Ο V Κ Ε Χ Ο Ρ Ε Ι C
 / Ε Ν Ο Ν Α Λ Λ Α Τ Ο Κ Ο Ι
 / Ο Ν Ε Μ Ο V Ι Α Ι C Ο
 V Ο N Ο C Μ Η Α Θ Ε Ο
 Τ Η C Ο V Τ Ο N Β
 V Λ Η C Ε Ι C †

This is taken from St. Gregory Nazienzen (*Oratio* xxx, c. 12), who is therefore the person represented. It is to be restored as follows: ¹

[Ἴν' ἣ τοιοῦτο τὸ σ-
 [υν]α[γόμ]ενον, οὐχ
 [ἔ]νε π[οιῶ τ]ὸ θέλη-
 [μ]α [τὸ ἐμόν, ο]ὐδὲ γά-
 ρ ἐστὶν τὸ ἐμόν
 τοῦ σοῦ κεχωρισ-
 [μ]ένον, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοι-
 [ν]ὸν ἐμοῦ τ[ε κ]αὶ σο-
 ῦ, ὧν ὡς μία θε[ό-]
 τῆς οὕτω μ[ία] β[ο-]
 ὑλησις.

(iii) Part of the first line is preserved.

Ι Ι Ο Ξ Ε Ι Ι Ι Ο V
 Α Ρ Ι Α C Ε Κ /// V Π // Ι
 Α /// V Π Ν C Λ Ο Γ Ο V
 Ο Ε Ο Ρ Ε Ο Ρ Α
 Κ Ε Ν Ο V Τ Ο N
 Χ Α V Δ Ε
 Τ Ι Α
 Ο Α C
 Η C Ε Ι / Φ
 Α
 Μ /

¹ Ed. Bened. i. 548. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi. 120. The identification is due to Mr. C. Turner and the Rev. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Some four or five lines below the last fragment appear the letters
 ΘΝΠ.

The Father represented is St. Basil, from whose treatise, *De Spiritu Sancto*, the quotation comes. It is distinguished from the others by having a title, and reads as follows: ¹

[Βασιλ]είου ἐπι[σκό]που
 [Και]σ[α]ρίας ἐκ [το]ῦ π[ερ]ὶ
 ἰ[γί]ο]υ πν(εύματος) λόγου.
 Ὁ ἐωρ[ακώς με] ἐώρα-
 κεν [τὸν π(α)τ(έ)ρα,] οὐ τὸν
 χα[ρακτῆρα ο]ὐδὲ
 τῆ[ν μορφήν, κ]α-
 θα[ρὰ γὰρ συνθέσσω]ς
 ἡ θε[ί]α φ[ύσις, ἀλλὰ τὸ]
 ἰ[γαθὸν τοῦ θελή-]
 μα[τος ὅπερ σύνδρ-]
 ομον ὃν τῇ οὐσίᾳ
 ὅμοιον καὶ ἴσον
 μᾶλλον δὲ ταύτῳ]
 ἐν π[ατ]ρί καὶ υἱῷ θε-
 ωρεῖται].

(iv) The scroll held by St. John Chrysostom is almost illegible. The letters are smaller than in the other cases. The first two lines are entirely destroyed.

ΛΟΝ
 Α VC CI ΙΘΑΡΑ
 ΨΥΧΗΝ ΙCI
 ΙΗΝ Α Μ
 ΙΩΜΕ ΙΕ
 ΝΟΝΠC Ι
 ΗΨΑΜ

¹ *De Spiritu Sancto*, § 12., ed. Bened. (Gaume), c. viii; Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxii. 105. The identification is due to Mr. C. H. Turner.

ΤΟCΧΑΙΡ ΝΛΙ ΙΡΕ
 ΑΙΕ ΓΛ C Α
 ΟΝ ΟΝ
 Ι ΗCΨ
 Κ/
 ΓΙΩ Ε Θ

The passage is taken from the spurious *Sermo in S. Thomam Apostolum*, and can be restored as follows :¹

[Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστ-
 όμου ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἰς
 Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπόστο]λον.
 [ταῦτ]α [ἀκο]ύσ[ας] ἐκάθαρα
 [τὴν] ψυχὴν [ἀπ]ιστ[ί]ας,
 ἀπεδυσάμην] τὴν ἀμ-
 [φίβολον γ]νώμη[ν, ἀ]νέ-
 [λαβον τὸν] νοῦν πεπ[εισμ]-
 ένον], ἡψάμ[ην τοῦ σώ-
 μα]τος χαίρ[ων] καὶ τρέ-
 [μων, κ]αὶ ἐ[ξή]πλ[ω]σα
 [μετὰ τ]ῶν [δακτύλ]ων
 κ[αὶ τὸ τ]ῆς ψ[υχῆς ὄμμα],
 κα[ὶ ὁ ὅλο]ιπὸν ἐνερ-]
 γ<ε>ιώ[ν] ἡ[σ]θ[όμην].

Mr. Brightman has explained the selection of these passages by pointing out that they all appear among the *Testimonia Patrum* cited at the Lateran Council of 649 which condemned the 'Type' or edict by which Constans II. tried to silence the Monothelete controversy.² This being so, two important inferences may be drawn with regard to the decorations of this part of the church. In the first place this series of Fathers, together, perhaps, with the angels flanking a Madonna on the

¹ Ed. Bened. (Paris, 1738), viii. App. p. 15. Migne *Patr. Gr.*, lix. 500. Mr. Brightman identified the quotation.

² The references are :

Basil.	Mansi, x. 1077 =	Labbe-Cossart, vii. 286.
Gregory.	— — =	— —
Leo.	— 1097 =	— 304.
Chrysostom.	— 1105 =	— 314.

right of the apse, which we saw belonged to the second stratum of painting (p. 67), must have been executed between 649 and 705, the date of the accession of John VII. who replaced them by a new set of pictures. We should thus be able, as has been already suggested (p. 8), to date the successive decorations of the Sanctuary at intervals of, approximately, fifty years; the earliest about the year 600 or rather before, the second about the middle of the seventh century (perhaps before the exile of Martin I. in 653), the third at the beginning of the eighth century, and the last in the second half of the eighth century. Secondly, if the paintings which we may thus associate with the time of Martin I. were a monument of the triumph of Roman orthodoxy in the Council of 649, we now see a special reason for the prominence given to Martin in the decorations which we have attributed to John VII. (p. 62). If the previous series was a monument of the protest headed by the Pope, that which replaced it fifty years later did not omit to commemorate the Pope himself on whom that protest had entailed virtual martyrdom. We may further suppose that the Fathers who formed part of the new decorations—though, as we have seen, only the heads survive (p. 62), also carried in their hands scrolls with their *testimonia*. Basil and Gregory would then be repeated from the older series. Augustine is found among the Fathers cited at the Council, and at considerable length.¹ The fourth has entirely disappeared, but we can hardly believe that Leo would be omitted from such a series in a Roman church.

The centre of the apse is occupied by a colossal seated figure of Christ (52), blessing with the right hand and holding a book in the left. On either side was a tetramorph, *i.e.* the heads of the four Evangelic animals combined in one form and provided with six wings.² The one on the right is the best preserved. Standing on the ground, to the left of the Saviour, and represented on a much smaller scale, is a Pope with a blue square nimbus. The well preserved head (full-face) with its black hair, short beard, and rather melancholy expression, has a certain individuality. On the left was his name (in two perpendicular columns)

+SANCTISSIMVS | PAVLVS PP | ROMANVS+

The last word is inscribed horizontally over the nimbus.³ The apse

¹ Mansi, x. 1083.

² As in Ezekiel i. 6 *sqq.* Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 265.

³ All that can now be seen is *sanctis*SIMVS | PAVV's | ROMANus +

was therefore redecorated by Paul I. (757-767). The background shows in the upper portion a blue sky studded with white stars, and below, from the level of the shoulders of Christ, a wall of broad perpendicular stripes alternately red and green. In its damaged state it is impossible to say much about the artistic character of this work. The figure of Christ is impressive from its size, but the Pope is of the same character as the portraits in the chapel of St. Quiricus.

Behind these paintings a few traces of the earlier decoration may be detected. To the left is a large yellow nimbus edged with red, and beyond it perhaps another. Below the feet of Christ, to the right, appears part of a Greek inscription also belonging to this earlier stratum, *i.e.*, probably, to the work of John VII. The fragments (white letters on red ground, very blurred) must belong to the last third of the inscription. The letters so far as they can be made out are as follows :

ΟΝΚΝΥ//ΟΘΕΟΕΙΙ/ΝΤΗΝCΗΝΕΙΡΙΝΗΝ/ΟCΕΙΜΕ////////

Possibly this may have been intended to read :

τ]ὸν κ(ύριον)ν . . . ὁ Θεὸς ἡμ[ῶ]ν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην [δ]ὸς ἡμῶν . . .

The dado of the apse shows coarsely painted red drapery with a pattern of interlacing white circles (belonging to Paul's work), covering up the earlier white and yellow hangings which can be seen on the side-walls.

Behind the scenes from the life of Christ on the right wall there are faint traces of an earlier series, apparently also of the life of Christ, for the only intelligible scene seems to represent the Procession to Calvary with the three crosses being carried along.

Before leaving the Sanctuary we may notice that a low skirting of marble runs round the base of the walls. It may be a survival from the original decorations of the building. The pavement is better preserved here than in any other part of the Church, and is clearly of two dates (Fig. 6). The greater part consists of square compartments of geometrical patterns in white and coloured marbles (verde antique and porphyry) with a porphyry disc in the centre, separated by bands of white marble. Similar pavements (probably not older than the sixth century) may be seen in the S.E. chambers of the portico of the Basilica Aemilia. It must be remembered that excellent work of this kind could still be done in Rome as late as the ninth century, as we see from the chapel of S. Zeno in

S. Prassede.¹ The work here is decidedly inferior. At a later date the strip next to the wall on the left and in front of the apse was replaced, no doubt as a restoration, by much ruder work consisting of narrow compartments enclosing discs and lines of porphyry, set in a field of white marble tesserae. The same kind of pavement appears again in the part of the Basilica Aemilia already referred to, which, apparently, was converted into a house in the Byzantine period. Fragments of it may also be noticed in the lower church of S. Clemente (abandoned towards the end of the eleventh century) on the left side of the nave.

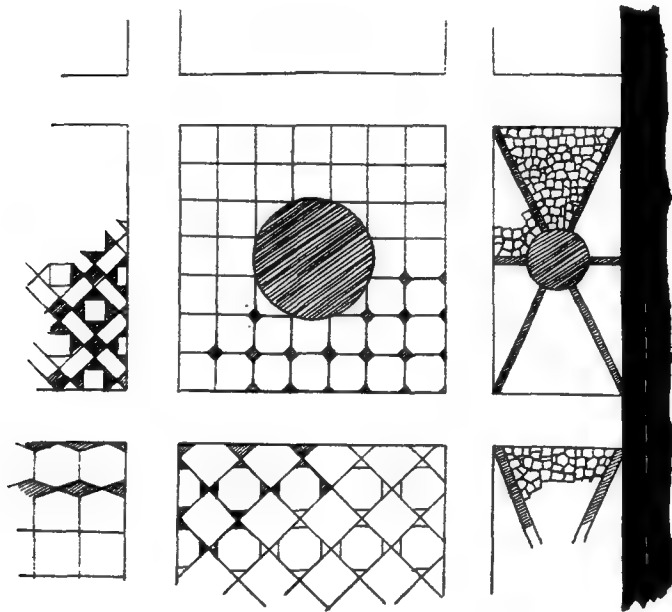


FIG. 6.—PAVEMENT IN THE SANCTUARY.

The front part of the Sanctuary, enclosed by the screen already described (p. 63), was also repaved in the later style, and at a rather higher level, so that there was a step down into the inner part of the Sanctuary. It is to be noticed that the pavement is earlier than the screens which have been built on the top of it. On the right, near the cross screen, one

¹ Cattaneo, *Architettura*, Fig. 88. For pavements of the same style in the eleventh century church of St. Luke of Stiris, see Schultz and Barnsley, *op. cit.*, 36.

of the white marble bands still retains the outline of two feet, the well-known pagan symbol of a vow for a safe journey. Beside it is inscribed COSMESES. In a neighbouring compartment a small porphyry disc is surrounded by a ring of white marble on which is engraved

MATIA · COMPSE.¹

The lettering in both cases is of the second century.

There can be little doubt that this raised platform indicates the position of the altar, *i.e.* it corresponds to the *bema* proper of Byzantine churches. The altar in the latter is generally placed, as here, well in front of the apse.²

No traces remain of the altar which, we must suppose, was removed with everything else of a portable nature, when the church was abandoned. We know from the 'Book of the Popes' that Leo III. (795–816) gave to the high altar of S. Maria Antiqua a silver ciborium, *i.e.* a canopy of wood plated with silver.³ In another part of the church one arch of a marble ciborium has been found, which with the spandrels above it is covered with characteristic eighth-century ornament.⁴ We may imagine that it belonged to the canopy which was discarded when Leo III.'s more magnificent present took its place.

We now pass to the chapel (G) on the right of the Sanctuary. The end-wall, like the chapel of St. Quiricus, has a square niche or recess, but wider and lower down. This recess is not part of the original construction of the building, like that in the chapel of St. Quiricus, but has been rudely excavated in the wall. The floor of this chapel appears to have been lowered long after the building had become a church, and perhaps it was then that the recess was made. Its lower part, which was, presumably, some feet above the floor, is actually below the level of the threshold of the side-door into the Sanctuary; and it will be noticed that the row of saints, which is the chief ornament of the wall on the right, is above

¹ Federici's extraordinary idea (*l.c.* 21) that this belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century and forms the signature of the mosaic worker—MATIA COMPSE, scarcely needs refutation. For instances of these 'libertine' names see *C.I.L.* vi. 16061 *sqq.* and 22289 *sqq.*; and cf. 22296 *Matia C. L. Gnoste.*

² Cf. Salzenberg, *Alt-chr. Baud.* T. xxxix. 3 (St. Nicholas at Myra); and the plan of the church of St. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, Pl. I).

³ *Lib. Pont.* ii. 14: *super altare maiore cyburium ex argento purissimo.*

⁴ Reproduced in Rivoira, *Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, 202, Fig. 277. Fragments of various marble shafts, also found in the church, may have belonged to the columns which supported it.

the level of the top of the recess, so that if the drapery dado below them were continued round the chapel it would be cut by the recess. But the base of this dado is too high up to have ever marked the level of the floor, and we must suppose that below it the wall was originally covered by panelling or by a structure of some kind. If we were to suppose that this chapel were the *diaconicon* of the church, the *armaria* which held the sacred books, vessels, and vestments, might have occupied this position. When the floor was lowered these arrangements disappeared; and it became necessary, as the original dado was left, so to say, in the air, to provide a new one to fill up the interval between it and the new floor. This was done by painting on the bare brickwork, for at this level there was no longer the ancient coating of plaster,¹ which, apparently, was utilised throughout the Church, wherever it existed, as a surface for the Christian paintings.

This late decoration is fairly preserved in the right-hand corner of the right wall, where we see on a white ground (with the brickwork showing through) a yellow Latin cross, jewelled and adorned with pendants, and surrounded by monograms which read, 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς Θ(εο)ῦ υ(ἱο)ς υ[κ]ᾶ.²

The most important and best preserved fragments of painting in the chapel are the Saints on the right and entrance walls (53). If the series was ever continued on the left wall all traces have disappeared. The figures begin on the right wall, just to the right of the indications of a screen or beam which, as in the other chapel, marked off the space immediately in front of the altar. The pictures inside this have gone. Outside, the following can be seen. The names are inscribed perpendicularly beside the figures and are always preceded by + Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ. We pass from left to right.

(i) The lower part of a saint in Byzantine official costume (red chlamys and white tunic).

(ii) An ecclesiastic. Only the tonsured head with its nimbus, and the bottom of the chasuble and tunic are left. As the monk who comes next is evidently Dometius, the name inscribed to the right of the ecclesiastic's head must belong to the latter. It is ΒΑΡΧ'////, perhaps Barachisius, a Persian martyr (*Mart. Rom.*, March 29; cf. *Ruinart*, 584).

(iii) A monk in black, the head covered by a pointed cowl. To the

¹ *I.e.* the backing on which we must suppose that the original marble decorations of the walls were fixed.

² For the last part cf. *e.g.* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii. (1886), 153, and the (qy. eighth-century) pectoral cross in *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* vi. 260, T. x. It is very common.

right is the name, ΔΩΜΕΤΙCΘ. *Mart. Rom.* (Aug. 7, as also in the Eastern Calendar): *Nisibi in Mesopotamia S. Dometii monachi Persae, qui cum duobus discipulis sub Iuliano apostata lapidatus est.*

(iv) A bearded figure in classical costume (red pallium), with some sort of headdress (indistinct), holding what appears to be a scroll bound round with a ribbon. The name inscribed to the right apparently belongs to the next saint (Panteleemon), so that here, perhaps by a miscalculation of the spaces, the name has been omitted. The object in his hand, and perhaps the headdress, show him to have been one of the medical saints (see below).

(v) A lay saint (beardless) in Byzantine official costume (yellow chlamys and white tunic), holding cross and crown. To the left of the head is inscribed, ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ. Panteleemon, known in the West as Pantaleon, is regularly represented in this manner in Byzantine art,¹ so that here the name and the figure must go together. He is another of the medical saints, and well known both in East and West (July 27).

(vi) A tonsured ecclesiastic in a red chasuble holding a cross and, perhaps, a book. The figure is much damaged and it is impossible to say whether or no he were a bishop. To the left of the head is inscribed +ΘΑΓΙΟCΘ. The name which was to the right has disappeared.

On the entrance wall there were originally seven figures. Only those on the left are distinguishable.

(vii) A beardless saint in a long cloak open in front, resembling a cope (red with a pattern of large circles). He holds a roll, and on his head was some kind of headdress. To the left is his name, ΙΩΑΝΝΗC. See (ix).

(viii) A saint (beardless) in classical costume (tunic and pallium): ΚΕΛCOC. As all the other saints of the series are Eastern, this is probably not the Celsus of Milan, the companion of Nazarius, who appears in the modern Roman Calendar on July 28th, but the martyr of Antioch under Diocletian (Jan. 9th in the Roman Martyrology), whose relics, with those of his companion Julianus, are preserved in the church of SS. Celso e Giuliano (near the Ponte S. Angelo) which is at least as old as the twelfth century.²

(ix) Little more than the nimbus is left, but the name may be restored: ΑΒΒΑΚυρος.

¹ Didron, ii. 330, 400. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 55 (cf. 44, n. 5)

² Armellini, *Chiese*, 363.

Among the Eastern saints received in Rome during the Byzantine occupation, few had a greater vogue than Abbacyrus and John (Jan. 31st.). Singly or together they are represented no less than four times in this church, and though their names have disappeared from the modern Calendar and lists of dedications, Rome and its environs once contained four or five churches under their patronage. They owed their popularity to the belief that their intercession was peculiarly efficacious in curing sickness, for they belong to the class of medical saints. Cyrus, who had been a physician at Alexandria and then became a monk (hence ἀββᾶς *Kûpos*—Abbat Cyrus), suffered, together with a soldier called John and others, during the Diocletian persecution in Egypt. Their cult dates from the discovery of their bodies in the time of Arcadius; but their relics were not brought to Rome till just before the capture of Alexandria by the Saracens in 634, when they were deposited in the little church on the right bank of the Tiber, opposite to St. Paul's without the Walls, which, under a strangely corrupted form, still preserves the tradition of its name as Sta Passera.¹

The back wall of the recess behind the altar contains full-length figures of five saints, very much damaged (54). Each has the nimbus and the name preceded by + Ο ΑΓΙΟC. Beginning from the left we see:

(i) A saint with a short beard, in classical costume (red pallium), holding in his right hand a roll like that described above²: ΚΟCΜΑC. The medical Saints Cosmas and Damianus, martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, had become popular in Rome even before the Byzantine Conquest, as may be seen from the still-existing church on the opposite side of the Forum, founded by Felix IV. (526–530). But they were none the less Eastern importations, and during the Byzantine period several churches were dedicated to them in Rome. Unlike some others, they maintained their position in the West, and still appear in the modern Roman Calendar on September 27th.

(ii) The next figure is much damaged, but the name can be read: ΑΒΒΑΚΥΡΟC.

(iii) A deacon in a long white tunic (the dalmatic) with two red stripes down the front, and wide sleeves edged with a double border of the same colour. With his right hand he is swinging a censer, which is an open

¹ Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, iii. (which is almost entirely taken up with an account of their miracles, and sermons in their honour) p. xi. ; Armellini, *Chiese*, 945.

² P. 78 (iv).

bowl (apparently containing fire) hung by three chains. **ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ**. The central position of St. Stephen perhaps suggests that the chapel (in its later form) was dedicated under his name, or that some Pope of the name of Stephen was interested in these decorations. We might think of Stephen II. (752-757), the successor of Zacharias, or Stephen III. (768-772), the successor of Paul I. But as this chapel corresponds to the *diaconicon* in the plan of a Byzantine church, the figure of St. Stephen may refer to the purpose to which the chamber was devoted.

(iv) Nothing is left of the figure.¹ The name however is clear, **ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΣ**. It would have been interesting to see how Procopius (July 8th) was represented, for while the older tradition (followed by the Western Martyrologies) describes him as an ecclesiastic of the rank of Reader or Exorcist, the Eastern Church, where he was much more famous, made him a soldier, and he is regularly represented as such in Byzantine art.²

(v) The figure is gone, but **ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ** can be read. See on (i). The sides of the recess are decorated with the design of intersecting circles described on p. 63.

It is interesting to notice, as illustrating the vogue of certain saints in Rome in the eighth century, that most of these names are to be found in the list of relics in S. Angelo at the time of its restoration by Theodotus (p. 43). The following names occur in it; Stephanus, Celsus, Abbaquirus, Iohannes, Dometius, Procopius, Pantaleon, Cosmas, Damianus.³

With regard to the artistic character of these pictures it may be said that the fragments on the right wall, which are comparatively well preserved, show the same kind of merit as the (presumable) work of John VII. in the Sanctuary, though they are not by the same hand. The faces are well modelled, and the expression is dignified. The figures in the recess are so much dilapidated that it is difficult to pass any judgment on their original character, but they appear to be much coarser than those on the side-wall.

The right wall has lost all its decorations. High up are some indistinct graffiti, among which can be distinguished a nimbed figure and a cross

¹ Just where it came, a hole has been broken through the wall in mediaeval times, in order to obtain access to a well dug in the floor of the chapel.

² Ruinart, 386. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, 205.

³ Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 174.

with the Α and Ω hanging from its arms, but reversed, *i.e.* the Ω is to the left. It has been pointed out with regard to a similar instance in Rome that this peculiarity is probably due to a Greek hand.¹

We now pass to the aisle on the right side of the church (D). For various reasons the paintings on the main wall here have suffered more than those on the opposite side of the church, and the merest scraps remain. We can see that there were two tiers corresponding to the Old Testament scenes on the left wall, and, so far as can be judged by the faint outlines remaining, that they were in the same style, and perhaps by the same hands as the latter. Below them, instead of the row of saints, there were apparently more scenes. The surviving fragments, which are to be found on that part of the wall which is opposite the space between the north-west pier of the peristyle and the first column on the right, seem to point to a series connected with the Gospel History (55). The inscriptions, like those on the opposite wall, should be in Latin. Nevertheless it is difficult to see how the first set of letters given under scene (i) is anything but the termination of a Greek name in *-ias*. It may be remembered that on the opposite wall the names which identify figures are inscribed perpendicularly, and the descriptions of the scenes horizontally. On the upper tier there can be made out :

(i) A nimbed figure in long drapery is bending or moving from the left towards the centre. On the background behind it, above a mountain, are the letters (perpendicularly) ΙΑCΙ. To the right of the nimbed head appears (perpendicularly) 'ANN. All the rest is gone.²

On the lower tier are the following :

(ii) A female figure like the Virgin (*i.e.* in a black or dark blue garment coming over the head), lying on a bed with, apparently, a swaddled infant beside her. She raises her hand towards a beardless figure on the left, who extends his right hand towards her. The traces certainly appear to correspond with a familiar representation of the Nativity in Byzantine art.

(iii) Three male figures standing and apparently conversing. The two outer ones are bearded, and all hold circular objects like dishes. Over the

¹ M.G. Lacour-Gayet, *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1881, 229, on the graffiti of the columns of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 221. For other Western examples see *C.I.L.* v. 3100, viii. 450.

² In a church dedicated to the Virgin it would be natural to find a series giving the story of her life. If we restore the two names above as [Ζαχαρ]ίας and 'Αν[α], it might be suggested that the scene is the Presentation of Mary in the Temple. Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 348.

head of the first on the left is inscribed horizontally 'MAΓ. This might represent the Magi preparing for their journey.

(iv) The next scene shows the lower part of the same three figures, presumably the Magi presenting their offerings to the infant Christ.

This aisle, like that on the opposite side, was closed at its upper end by a screen with a gate in it. On the wall just outside this is a fragment of a scene, on a lower level than those previously described, which shows

(v) The conventional representation of a prison, standing isolated in the centre of the panel. At an oblong window appear three faces (beardless). It is difficult to say whether the heads are represented as surrounded by hair or by flames. The crossbars of the window are represented between the heads. On the right are the letters (perpendicularly) ∪ΟΕΑ. The last letter is not certain.¹

The most prominent object in this wall is a roundheaded, semi-circular niche (56) excavated in the wall opposite to the space between the north-west corner pier of the peristyle and the next column. It is painted with figures of the three Holy Mothers. In the middle stands Mary with the infant Jesus. $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ is inscribed to the left, but the name has gone. On the left is St. Anne holding the infant Mary, with $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ ANNA inscribed. On the right is Elizabeth with John the Baptist, and $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ ELIZABET inscribed perpendicularly, as are the other names. These paintings are in a different style from any that we have yet seen, coarse and rude, yet not wanting in a certain firmness of touch, and not without suggestions of the classical style. In the peculiar effect of the white eyeballs they remind one of some ninth-century pictures in the lower church of S. Clemente and in the crypt of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In any case they are among the latest works in the church, for the niche must have cut into the previous wall-paintings. There are indications that the space immediately in front was enclosed by a low brick screen, so that probably there was an altar under the niche. In illustration of this appearance of the cult of St. Anne at Rome it has been pointed out² that Pope Constantine was at Constantinople in 710, the year in which the relics of St. Anne were translated thither, and also that her story was represented on some embroideries given to S. Maria Maggiore by Leo III. (795–816) who,

¹ The identification of the subject is not obvious. The prison does not seem to be consistent with a representation of the Three Children in the furnace.

² By the Rev. H. M. Bannister. *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* vi. (1900) 294, n. 1

it may be remembered, was also a benefactor to S. Maria Antiqua. It may be added that the names SCA ANNA SCA ELISABET occur in the list of relics at S. Angelo in Pescheria.¹ But if we are right in believing that the three Holy Mothers appeared among John VII.'s decorations in the Sanctuary (p. 58), St. Anne must have been known at Rome by the beginning of the eighth century.

We have now to examine the angle piers of the peristyle and the space between them, including the Choir. We begin with those nearest to the Sanctuary.

Pier on the left. On the larger face of the interior angle we see a fairly preserved painting of the Annunciation (57). The angel advances from the left, blessing with the right hand, and holding a long staff in the left. Mary is seated on a high cushioned chair. Between them on the ground is an object, perhaps a basket. The picture, with its attitudes, draperies, and modelling with high lights on the flesh, is a good example of the survival of the 'classical' style, and of considerable merit. Nevertheless the fall of part of the plaster reveals the fact that it is only the replica of an earlier work from which it has apparently been copied. The nimbus of the angel and the staff in his hand occupied the same position in both pictures, and the place of the feet has only been slightly changed. To the earlier stratum belongs the inscription (black letters on white ground), a combination (in the form of the 'Hail Mary') of the salutations of the angel (Luke i. 28) and of Elizabeth (*ib.* 42).

+ΧΑΙΡε κεχαριτω-
ΜΕΝΗ Ο Κς μετὰ σοῦ
ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜένη σὺ
ΕΝΓΥΝΑΙΞΙ καὶ εὐ-
ΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΟς ὁ καρ-
ΠΟΤΗCΚΟΙΛίας σου

There can be little doubt that one of these pictures formed part of the decorations of John VII. Indeed the design is practically identical with the scene as represented in one of John's mosaics in his chapel at St. Peter's.²

On the smaller interior face, at right angles to the Annunciation, is a full-length beardless saint (lay), holding a cross before him in the right

¹ Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 174, l. 22.

² Garrucci, iv. T. 280. 1.

hand and a crown in the left covered by the chlamys. The latter is yellow with a pattern of red circles, and bears the tablion. There is a square of embroidery on the right arm. Beside him is inscribed (in two perpendicular columns), + Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ. Though the effect is so much more stiff and 'Byzantine' (in the popular sense) than that of the Annunciation, it was executed at the same time as the second version and possibly by the same hand. Both show exactly similar treatment of the folds of hanging drapery with sharp angles. The contrast may be explained by the derivation of the Annunciation from a much earlier original.

Demetrius, a proconsul martyred at Thessalonica under Maximian, is one of the *μεγαλομάρτυρες* of the Eastern Calendar (Oct. 26th. *Mart. Rom.* Oct. 8th), and a prominent figure in the Byzantine scheme of church decoration.¹

On the face of the pier which is on a line with the columns of the peristyle, is a fragment of the right side of a picture of the Virgin seated sideways, turned towards the right, with her hands clasped under the Child on her knee. Round her head was a large yellow nimbus. The style is 'classical' and not at all conventional in treatment. Above are the remains of lettering which may have referred to the picture on the upper tier, now entirely vanished. Below, on the fragment of a circle, is painted (white letters on black ground) XC.

Nothing is left on the side opposite to the left aisle. On the back face of the pier, looking towards the Sanctuary and the chapel of St. Quiricus, are traces of a large picture (very faint) representing Christ flanked by four figures (58). The one to the left represents the Virgin, and the bearded figure on the right John the Baptist. Part of his name still survives *ΙΩΑΝΝΙΣ*. Of the outer pair only the traces of the head on the left have survived. It is on a smaller scale than the other figures, and perhaps belongs to a donor. Above the row ran a Greek inscription (very fragmentary), apparently continuous. On the left only detached letters can be made out. In the part above the head of the central figure is the following fragment :

///MXEOCK///ECE///

¹ Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 388. Considering how little the position of the pictures in the church corresponds with the directions of the Manual, it is perhaps only a coincidence that the latter puts St. Demetrius approximately in the place in which we find him here. 'Outside, towards the singers' choir, represent the principal martyrs: St. George on the right; St. Demetrius on the left.' In later Byzantine art he is represented as a soldier, e.g. in the church of St. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, 61).

On the wall opposite are traces of a large picture representing the Three Children in the furnace (58*a*). They are nimbed, and stand in the flames, facing the spectator, with arms extended sideways, wearing cloaks fastened in front.¹

The screens enclosing the space in front of the Sanctuary have on this side lost all their painted surface. The white marble posts for the gate in the middle still remain *in situ*. They are square, and fluted on every face, so that they are either adaptations of ancient work or else, perhaps, the original screen had open *cancelli* instead of a solid wall. We have already noticed (p. 75) that the present screen is later than the pavement on which it rests.

The pier on the right shows on its principal face two large pictures, one above the other (59). They are thoroughly 'classical' in style, and no doubt contemporary with the 'Annunciation' (p. 83) and the Virgin and Child (p. 84) opposite. We may therefore feel justified in including all the decorations of these piers among the works of John VII.

(i) The upper (much damaged) seems to represent Christ enthroned, attended by two Archangels. A male figure is seated on a throne with a red cushion and high footstool. On the right stands a draped figure with the right hand raised. A similar figure on the left.

(ii) In the centre, and facing the spectator, stands a nimbed woman enveloped in a purple mantle which comes up over her head. Her right hand is raised and opened outwards, and in her left she holds a fringed handkerchief. Around her are seven male figures of different sizes, each with the open hand raised. On either side of the woman is inscribed perpendicularly, Η ΑΓΙΑ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΗ, and above the tallest figure on the left, ΕΛΕΑΖΑΡ. Underneath the picture are the remains of an inscription, the first part of which is quite gone. About the middle appears

////VMC IIC EPII////

The group represents the seven Maccabees standing around their mother Solomone (or Salomone). They were commemorated both in the East and West on Aug. 1st, as forerunners of the Christian martyrs. But the

¹ The treatment of the subject is the familiar one in Byzantine art; *e.g.*, Schultz and Barnsley, *op. cit.*, Pl. 54, p. 57, n. 8. The remains are too fragmentary to show whether the angel was represented above the Children. We may well suppose that on the corresponding wall-space to the right of the Sanctuary (where all traces have vanished) the regular pendant to this scene, Daniel in the den of lions, was represented. Cf. Diehl, *Couvent de Saint Luc*, 58.

Eastern Calendars are peculiar in giving them names.¹ Eleazar occurs in these lists as the name of one of the brothers, and—although there is a large gap in the surface to the left—as there do not appear to have been more than seven figures besides that of Solomone, and the figure of Eleazar is that of a young man (he is beardless²), there can be little doubt of the identification here. Otherwise, it might have been suggested that he is the Eleazar who appears in the history of the Maccabees as the first martyr under Antiochus, and the example which was followed by the seven brethren. He is also commemorated by name with them in the Greek Calendar.³

On the smaller interior face of the pier, corresponding to St. Demetrius. opposite, is a female saint in a white dress under a red mantle which comes over her head. She holds the cross and crown but the latter has disappeared. To the right of her head the name was inscribed, but the paint of the letters has gone.

On the face which corresponds with the columns of the peristyle, high up can be seen the lower part of a white-robed figure. The picture is framed with a red line.

On the back of the pier, facing towards the Sanctuary, are traces of three (or probably five, as on the opposite side) full-length nimbed figures. They appear to represent an ecclesiastic with a book, a figure holding a roll (cf. p. 78, no. iv), and a lay martyr with the cross and crown.

The scenes on the inside of the low screen enclosing the Sanctuary, which touches this pier, have been already described (p. 63). On the outer face, looking into the Choir, the scene nearest to the pier is fairly preserved (60). On the left is the wall, with towers at intervals (red), of a city, upon which stands a bearded man with raised hands, accompanied by other figures. Below, in the centre, stand two figures of which only the lower part is preserved. But they appear to be women,

¹ Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, 230. 'Αβείμ, 'Αντωνίου, Γουρία, 'Ελεαζάρου, Εὐσεβωνᾶ, 'Αχείμ, Μαρκέλλου.

² He is so described in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, 328). The other Eleazar is an old man with a long beard.

³ Nilles, *l.c.* Μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων ἐπὶ τὰ παίδων τῶν Μακκαβαίων· καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν Σαλομονῆς· καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν 'Ελεαζάρου. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 18: 'Ελεαζάρὸς τις τῶν πρωτευόντων γραμματέων; and 3 vi. 1. In the Fourth Book of the Maccabees (xvi. 15) the mother is represented as present with her sons at the martyrdom of Eleazar, and encouraging them by his example. On the name Salomone see H. Achelis, *Martyrologien in Abh. der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, NF. vol. iii. No. 3 (1900), p. 44.

the one on the left in a jewelled dress, and the one on the right in grey. The right of the picture is occupied by a camp, with soldiers in conical helmets sleeping in the tents. On the last tower of the wall, and therefore nearly over the richly dressed female figure, is part of a perpendicular inscription which is to be completed thus, CAPYT *Olofernis*. There can be no doubt that the scene represents the exploit of Judith, and it appears here in the series of types with which the screens were decorated (cf. p. 63).¹

The choir seat was not returned on this side, and the scene is framed both above and below by the pattern of intersecting circles previously described (p. 63, Fig. 5).

The peristyle on this side, in front of the Sanctuary, was formed by an arch (now restored) resting on the two piers. The original spring of the arch on this side is preserved together with some of the painted decoration on its under-side. It shows a double ribbon-pattern in red on a black (*i.e.* probably blue) ground.

Pier to the right of the entrance. A small niche has been excavated in the principal face of the interior angle in which is painted (61) the Virgin and Child—hardly more than the bust. To the left is the monogram **MF**, and to the right **MP** for *ἡ ἄγία Μαρία*. The painting is rude, and perhaps of the same epoch as the three Mothers in the niche on the right wall (p. 82). In the sill of the niche is a cavity, perhaps intended to hold a light. On the space below the niche fragments of small figures appear. The one in the centre can be recognised as the regular Byzantine type of Daniel.² He stands facing the spectator, with hands extended sideways, wearing a white mantle lined with red and fastened in front over a green tunic and yellow hose. By his left foot is a small lion looking up at him. The one on the other side has disappeared. Daniel was flanked by two saints, but only a fragment of the one on the left (an ecclesiastic in a chasuble) remains.

The space in front of the niche, as far as the first column of the peristyle, is enclosed by screens, one of them being, of course, part of the main

¹ Cf. the representation of the scene in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 288). 'A lofty city. Below it many tents are visible within which soldiers are asleep. In the midst [is the tent in which Holofernes lies]. Judith, clad in sumptuous apparel, stands before him, bearing in one hand a bloody sword, while with the other she places the head of Holofernes in a wallet which her servant holds for her,' &c. Cf. d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, iii. Pl. xlii. 3, where the scene (from the eighth century 'Bible of St. Paul's') is accompanied by the words CAPVT OLOFERNI.

² For examples, see Garrucci, iii. T. 150; Schultz and Barnsley, Pl. 54; etc.

choir-screen. Probably, therefore, there was an altar here. The floor is paved with slabs of white marble and grey granite.

The choir-screen is fairly preserved just at the angle where it touches the pier and returns to form the cross-wall in front of the entrance. The continuous seat on the inner side, which is also returned, is made of slabs of white marble covered with stucco painted to represent coloured marbles. On the wall which formed the back of the seat was a series of scenes resembling in style those on the Sanctuary screens (pp. 63, 86) and therefore, probably, like them representing Old Testament types. The lower part of the two at the angle (62) is preserved. The one on the left shows a battle scene. In the lower right-hand corner (all that has survived) a norseman is riding towards the left over a dead body. Behind him are soldiers. The scene on the right, which apparently occupied the whole space between the pier and the gate into the Choir, shows the jewelled footstool of a throne. Towards the person seated on it a richly dressed figure is advancing from the left, where some guards are standing. Behind them appears a background of mountains.¹

The outer face of the screen has been twice painted with imitation drapery, the last time in a very coarse style.

The pavement which is preserved within the angle of the screen, and is apparently contemporary with it, is a patchwork of large fragments of white marble and grey granite. Underneath appears the original brick floor of *opus spicatum*.

The pier to the left of the entrance had entirely disappeared and has been rebuilt. A good deal of the structure of the choir-screen on this side of the church remains, but nothing of the painting on its inner face. At the back are fragments of coarsely painted drapery, which is also found on the screens (63) which connect the northern piers with the entrance wall.

The four granite columns of the peristyle were coated with plaster, and painted. Only the one nearest to the Sanctuary on the left (64) retains any distinguishable traces of the subjects. It shows on the face looking towards the Choir a pair of full-length Saints enclosed in a rectangular frame which occupies about two thirds of the circumference. The one to the left is a beardless person in a long brown habit (no cowl), with bare feet.² To the

¹ It might be suggested that this represents the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon.

² The only youthful and beardless ascetic described in the Byzantine Manual is St. John Calybite (Didron, 335. Cf. Nilles, *Kal.*, 70).

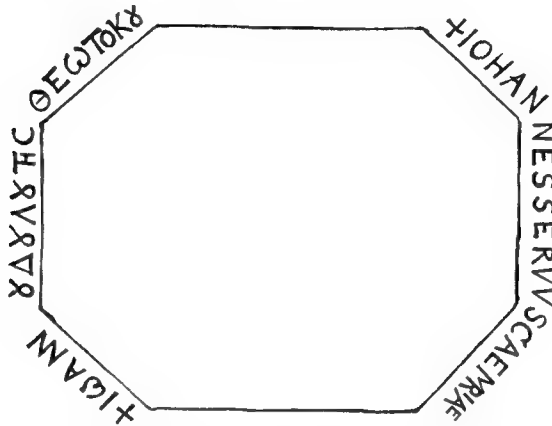
right is a soldier (only the lower half). He wears a slate-coloured cloak, short red tunic, yellow hose, and boots.

The central space enclosed by the choir-screens was originally paved with brick *opus spicatum*, and later with a patchwork of slabs of white marble and grey granite, a portion of which, as we have stated (p. 88), may be seen in the angle formed by the screens on the right. Resting upon the former is an oblong octagonal base of rough brickwork (65). It occupies only the approximate centre of the Choir, as it is set rather to the left of the axis of the building, and the short ends only correspond roughly with the inner lines of the bases of the peristyle columns. It can hardly, therefore, have belonged to the building in its original condition, but must have been erected as part of the arrangements of the church. The channel for a drain or waterpipe which passes under it longitudinally to either end of the Choir suggests the *cantharus* or fountain which was a regular feature in the atrium of churches of this period. In that case we should have to assume that originally the open peristyle court formed the atrium, and that the church was in those days restricted to the present Sanctuary. But it is improbable that this was ever the case. On the other hand the channel may be older than the platform, and connected with the ancient *impluvium* now buried beneath it, which would naturally occupy the centre of the open space. If we were free to think this, the analogy of S. Sophia at Constantinople might suggest that this was the base of the *ambo*. In S. Sophia, as we learn from the description of Paul the Silentiary, the *ambo* stood in the centre of the church, but rather towards the East, with flights of steps leading up into it from either direction (*i.e.*, from East and West).¹ Whether it stood in the middle of the choir, or, as at S. Clemente, in the line of one of the choir-screens, the *ambo* is one of the few features in S. Maria Antiqua about which our scanty documentary evidence gives any information. We have seen before (p. 65) that John VII. decorated the church with paintings, and the passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* continues, *illicque ambonem noviter fecit*.² Part of this *ambo* has actually been found in the Choir, discarded, and laid down in the floor immediately in front of the step leading up into the Sanctuary. It is an oblong octagonal slab of

¹ Salzenberg, *Alt-chr. Baud.* Anhang, p. ii. Lethaby and Swainson, *Santa Sophia*, 54, and cf. Fig. 5. In the poem of Paul the Silentiary the passage occurs in the section entitled *ἐκφρασις τοῦ ἁμβωνος* l. 21 sqq.

² *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

white marble (now split) measuring 1.3 m. by 73 cm. On the thickness (which recedes slightly inwards) of the three sides at either end is inscribed the name of the donor in Greek and Latin.



Iohannes servu(s) s(an)c(t)ae M(ary)riae.

Ἰωάννου δούλου τῆς Θεωτόκου.

The letters are raised in sunk panels. To the inscription itself we will return in a moment, but first we observe that the slab must be the floor of an ambo similar to the one which may be seen on the left hand of the choir at S. Clemente, and in other churches. The long sides of the slab have no inscriptions, because they were covered by the stairs which led up into the ambo from either direction; while the two ends projected, so that the words on them could be read, below the marble parapet which formed the front of the pulpit in which the reader stood. Traces of the lead which was run into the clamps which fastened the latter can still be seen in the upper face of the floor-slab. The place where this or, perhaps, some later ambo stood is still marked in the choir-screen on the left, opposite to the column of the peristyle nearest to the Sanctuary (66). These traces consist of the bases of three of the marble posts at the bottom of the two flights of steps, grooved so as to receive the ends of the slabs which formed the balustrade on either side of the ascent. The arrangement, as we have said before, was exactly similar to that of the existing ambo in S. Clemente. If the bases are in their original positions, as they appear to be, the stairway must have been extremely narrow; but the whole structure was quite

small, as might be expected in a church of this size. On its removal (when and why, there is nothing to tell us), the space which it had occupied was filled up, so that the choir-screen on this side became continuous. It appears, therefore, to be probable that the discarded ambo of John VII. occupied, originally, the space indicated in the left-hand screen of the choir. It was a new one, as the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us, and that which it replaced may have occupied the octagonal base in the centre.

The inscription of John VII. exactly resembles, both in its lettering and expression, the marble fragment in the Crypt of St. Peter's, which came from his famous chapel of the Virgin in the old basilica. It reads, +IOHANNIS SERVI SCAE MARIÆ.¹ At the time of the destruction of the chapel it contained another fragment with the words ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ, so that, as in S. Maria Antiqua, the name of the donor appeared in Greek as well as in Latin.² Moreover, beside the central figure of the mosaic (the Virgin, now in S. Marco at Florence) were the words, *Iohannes indignus episcopus fecit beatae Dei genitricis servus*.³ John therefore regularly described himself as 'the servant of Mary,' an expression of devotion to the Virgin which is found in the Greek world about this time or even earlier.⁴

Before we leave the church we must notice the burials which took place in it. These were not numerous, for during the period of its existence the older practice (itself an innovation on the customs of the classical period) of burying in the atrium or precincts of a church still had the upper hand. There was one grave in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta, of a form which will be described later (p. 105). In the right-hand main wall of the body of the church a few *loculi* have been excavated, perhaps at a very late period, and after the abandonment of the building as a place of worship. More important are the ancient sarcophagi which have been brought in Byzantine times from outside the City to be used as coffins. There are four. One is fixed against the wall immediately to the right of the side-door on the right, leading from the vestibule or outer

¹ Facsimile in Grisar's *Analecta Romana*, i. T. ii. 7, and p. 167. Cf. *Civiltà Cattolica*, March 16th, 1901, p. 728.

² On John's Greek origin see p. 7.

³ Garrucci, iv. T. 279.

⁴ The seventh-century MS. of the Acts in the Bodleian, known as the Codex Laudianus, has at the end an entry of ownership in the form, Θεωτώκε βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου Γρηγορίου διακόνου, &c. P. Batiffol in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1888, p. 307.

church (67). It was above ground, and its ornamental face is turned outwards. This has the ordinary undulated fluting, broken in the middle by a 'tabula ansata' bearing the inscription which follows :

D M S
 CLODIAE · SE
 CVNDAE CONIV
 GI DVLCISSIMAE ET BENE
 MERENTI QVAE VIXIT · AN ·
 XXV · MEN · X · DIEB · XIII · IN
 CONIVGIO MECVM FVIT SI
 NE QVERELLA · AN · VII · M · III ·
 DIEB · XVIII · L · CAELIVS · FLO
 RENTINVS · 7 · COH · X ·
 VRB · POSVIT
 NAT · MAMERTINO · ET
 RVFO · COS · PRI · NON ·
 AVG · DEF · XV · KAL · IVL · APRO · ET MAXIMO CoS

The dates of birth and death are August 4th A.D. 182, and June 17th A.D. 207, and a mistake of a year has been made in the age. Nothing has been added to indicate the name of the later occupant of the coffin.

On the same side of the church (now placed on the screen-wall between the right pier and the first column of the peristyle) a child's sarcophagus of white marble was found buried. It is an ordinary work of the third century, and shows on its front the common design of two winged figures supporting a wreath in the middle, with a weeping Cupid at either end.

On the opposite side of the church two large marble sarcophagi had been buried in graves under the floor. Neither has inscriptions. The one, probably of the third century, is rectangular, and its face is sculptured with two pairs of tragic masks flanked by festoons of fruit supported by three boys. The other, which was found in the space between the left-hand pier nearest the entrance and the adjoining column, has rounded ends which, together with the front, are covered with Christian subjects in relief, in the style of the fourth century. The scenes, all of which can be illustrated from other works of this kind, are as follows (from left to right).¹

¹ They have been fully dealt with by Prof. Marucchi in the *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* vii. (1901), 205 *sqq.*

(i) On the rounded end of the sarcophagus, a ship with two sailors. To the left a sea deity seated, holding a trident.

(ii) A nude figure (Jonah) lying under a tree. At his feet is a sea monster. Above the tree are two sheep and a goat.

(iii) A female figure with raised hands (an 'orante') standing between two trees.

(iv) A male figure clothed in the pallium, seated reading in a roll which he holds with both hands. Perhaps intended to represent the original occupant of the sarcophagus, studying the Divine Law. The faces of this and of the preceding figure have (as is often the case) been left unfinished in order that they might be converted into portraits.

(v) A shepherd (beardless) holding a lamb over his shoulders. Two sheep at his feet.

(vi) The Baptism of Christ. A figure, wearing only the pallium baptises a small, nude, beardless figure standing in water. A dove flies down towards him from a tree on the left.

(vii) Two fishermen (nude) with a net. On the rounded end of the sarcophagus.

It is worth while to notice how the burial under ground of these ornamental sarcophagi, even when representing Christian subjects,¹ reflects the artistic conditions of the time and place. Monumental tombs were indeed not unknown in Byzantine churches, but the general contrast is between the Eastern or Greek ideal of decorating a church with a complete and consistent series of pictures and decorations which cannot be broken into by extraneous pieces of ornament, and the Western mediaeval practice, picturesque but irregular, of filling a church with chapels and pictures and monuments, none of which belong to a uniform scheme. It is not till a later age in Rome, when the Greek world had vanished and a new art was springing up, that we find an ancient sarcophagus introduced into a church to serve as a tomb, but with its sculptured front now utilised as part of the decoration of an elaborate sepulchral monument.²

¹ It was not that the subjects were misunderstood, for the story of Jonah was well known to Byzantine art, and its treatment was derived from the same type as the representations on the sarcophagi. *E.g.* in the Menologium of Basil II. (ed. Albani. *Urbino*, 1727) i. 61 (Sept. 22nd). Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 286.

² The two earliest cases are the Fieschi monument (1256) in S. Lorenzo Fuori, and the Savelli monument (1266) in the Araceli.

III.—THE OUTER CHURCH OR VESTIBULE.

The walls of the great hall (B) through which the church proper was approached, were also covered with paintings, extending over the large semi-circular and rectangular niches which break the faces of the side-walls. The painted surface is in a much worse condition than in the inner church, and consists either of detached fragments or of very faint traces. We begin at the main entrance, and pass round the walls from left to right returning to the same point.

To right and left of the great door by which we enter from the direction of the Forum, two small niches have been excavated in the wall, similar to those which we have seen in the church. Three small full-length figures of saints are painted on the back of each of them, males on the right, females on the left. The figures in the niche to the right (68) are very faint, and their names have quite disappeared, but it is clear that they were three martyrs, in Byzantine official costume, holding crosses and crowns. If, as was apparently the case, they formed a pendant to the group in the niche on the left, we should expect them to be martyrs connected with Roman churches. Such names as George, Sebastian, Theodore, suggest themselves.¹

The niche on the left (69), of which the right-hand portion is destroyed, shows two female saints in jewelled Byzantine dresses and tiaras. Over the head of the one to the left is inscribed Η ΑΓΙΑ (the letters combined in a monogram, as in No. 61, p. 87) ΑΓΝΗ, and over the one in the middle ΚΗΚΗΛΗΑ, also preceded by the monogram. They stand under a sort of canopy formed by an architrave (on which the names are painted) supported by a column at either end. The background is blue. If we try to conjecture the name of the vanished third saint who accompanied Agnes and Caecilia, it might be suggested that Agatha is, perhaps, the next best known of the virgin martyrs, and there were dedications to her in Rome. But considering the position and associations of this church, we may say that no name is more likely than the one which follows theirs in the Canon of the Mass, viz. Anastasia.² As patroness of the

¹ On the plaster some bilingual monk (perhaps) has scratched his name

PETR^{us}

ΠΕΤΡ^{ος}

² It occurs in the list in the *Nobis quoque*.

mother church of the district between the Forum and the Aventine, to which S. Maria Antiqua belonged, and still more as patroness of the Court Church of the Imperial Government in Rome, a connexion which, as is well known, obtained for her under the Byzantine dominion an exceptional liturgical position,¹ this somewhat mythical personage may well have been associated here, as in the Canon, with the two great Roman virgin martyrs.

Standing opposite to the centre of the left wall we see that, at one time or another (though of course after the building had been converted into a church), passages were opened under the three rectangular niches so as to provide communication with the corridor outside, which forms a continuation of the incline up to the Palatine. The two nearest the entrance have now been filled up for constructional reasons, but the central one was closed while the building was still in use by a kind of shallow apse (70), marking, perhaps, the site of an altar. The scanty traces of painting at its two ends, which are all that is left of it, show small figures of saints. To the left, and on the same level, one of the niches with which we are familiar has been excavated in the wall, but the painting within it has vanished. To the left of this again is a fragment of drapery belonging to some saint in classical costume. Above the apse the opening still remained (now closed, as in the other cases), and its inner sides have been painted, perhaps at a very late date, after the floor had been filled up to this height. A dado of drapery with birds may be seen, and above this were scenes apparently from the life of St. Antony (71). One represents his burial, with the inscriptions S·ANTONⁱus and DEMONES.²

The painting in the great semi-circular niche to the left (72) is very fragmentary, and it is difficult to speak with anything like certainty about the subject. The existing traces would be consistent with the colossal figure of some sacred personage, occupying the whole height of the niche. Low down on the left there seem to be the remains of a square-nimbed kneeling figure, holding two votive candles (cp. p. 52). As may be seen by some fragments to the right, the niche, or the wall-

¹ Especially the fact that the Station for the second Mass on Christmas Day is at her church. For the history see the study of Mgr. Duchesne in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1887, 387 sqq.; supplemented by Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 595 sqq.

I take this from Marucchi's account in the *N. Bull. di Arch. Crist.* vi. 292. Nothing can be made out now.

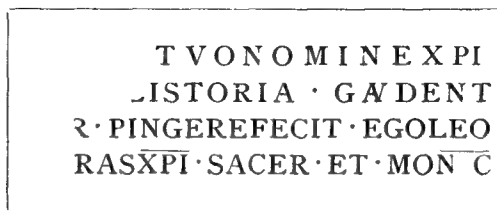
space next to it, was bordered by the design of intersecting circles which we have noticed in the inner church (pp. 63, 87). Just below this, and forming part of the same scheme of decoration, is the bust of (presumably) a Pope in a circle enclosed in a square frame (73). There are no traces of the name, but the face was beardless, and the pallium round his neck has Maltese crosses. Immediately to the right of the frame is a fragment of inscription painted on the plaster :

LEO }
SAC }
NA }

It is clear that these are the first words of the lines, and as faint traces of letters may be detected in the corresponding space on the opposite side of the niche, we may suppose that the recess formed by it was at that time built up flush with the main wall, so that, possibly, the inscription was painted right across the surface. This is confirmed not only by the existence of the above-mentioned small apse (70) below, no doubt intended for an altar, but also by the arrangement of the frame formed by the pattern of intersecting circles, which, while it borders, as we have noticed, the great semi-circular niche to the left, and returns above the medallion of the Pope, does not reappear till we come to the edge of the corresponding semi-circular niche on the right (75). The central rectangular niche was therefore, perhaps, originally covered by a large framed picture which filled up the space between the two semi-circular niches, and the inscription below it, and above the small apse, perhaps had reference to it. It was probably after the floor of the vestibule had become filled up to the level, perhaps, of the base of the niches, that the painting and the back-wall of the niche behind it was broken through to form a passage, the walls of which were decorated with the story of St. Antony, as described above (p. 95).

There are traces of a corresponding medallion of a Pope in the space to the right of the central niche, and immediately below is the portion of an inscription (74). Its size, and therefore the number of missing letters, may be ascertained with some accuracy, as the space is defined by the fragments of the red frame which enclosed it. We can see that part of the first line is preserved, that five or six letters are missing on the left of

the first two lines,¹ and three or four at the beginning of the last two lines.



To show how the lines may have run, though not as a certain restoration, the following might be suggested :

[*D(i)c(at)a s(an)c(t)o*] *tuo nomine Christe* [*fide*](*les*)
istoria gaudent. [*Noscas*] *q(ui) pingere fecit.*
Ego Leo [*dedi pictu*]*ras Christi sacer(dos) et monac(hus).*

The *istoria* would be the pictures on the wall. With the last line may be compared an eleventh-century inscription from S. Sebastiano on the Palatine :

*Ego Benedictus p(res)b(yte)r et monachus pingere feci.*²

It is clear that the fragment mentioned above (p. 96) refers to the same person. Leo must have been a common name at Rome in the early Middle Ages ; otherwise we might be struck by the coincidence that the picture of the Ascension in the lower church of S. Clemente was 'composed' by a presbyter, Leo, in the time of Leo IV. (847-857).³

In the lower part of the great semi-circular niche, which comes next (75), are the remains of three male saints. The two best preserved are bishops vested in dalmatic and chasuble with the pallium. To the right of the nimbus of the middle figure is inscribed (perpendicularly) ΕΡΑC///, so that this must be St. Erasmus whom we have already found in the [inner church (p. 33). The letters to the right of the second figure are less certain: AN is all that can be made out. Probably there was a row of three more figures above them.

In the space between the opening into the corridor and the angle of

¹ As the letters vary a good deal in size and spacing, there may have been more.

² Armellini, *Chiese*, 525.

³ Mullooly, *St. Clement* (2nd ed.), 285. The inscription runs,

*Quod haec prae cunctis splendet pictura decore,
 Componere hanc studuit praesbyter ecce Leo.*

Cf. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. T. vi.

the vestibule, low down, a semi-circular, round-headed niche (76) has been excavated in the wall. It is painted, much in the same style as the saints on the left wall of the church (p. 34), with a colossal half-length figure of St. Abbacyrus (cf. p. 79). Behind his head is a large yellow nimbus, and he holds in his right hand an instrument like a *stilus*, only that it has a small, sharply-pointed head which touches an object to his left, which apparently represents a box with two handles. These no doubt represent, though it is not clear that the artist understood what he was copying, the emblems of the medical art; the *spatha* or *spatula*, and the case of drugs.¹ On either side of the figure is inscribed perpendicularly Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑΚΥΡΟΣ. The sill of the niche has an oblong cavity, perhaps to hold a light (cf. p. 87).

Immediately above this niche, but considerably higher up on the wall, is a painting of Christ between SS. Abbacyrus and John (77). The figures are full-lengths with yellow nimbi, and stand facing the spectator. That on the left (Abbacyrus) is represented with white hair and a long beard, and the hands are raised and open in the ritual attitude of prayer. He wears a long, sleeved garment of a dark colour over a short red tunic. The figure on the right (John) is beardless. He holds a small cross in front of him with both hands, and is enveloped in a long and richly patterned cloak, open in front, just as in the picture of the south-west chapel (p. 78). The Christ holds a book, and blesses with the right hand. Below, to the right, are the last words of the two lines of inscription, in rather small and poor white letters on the red ground.

..... AbbacVR̄S ET IOHS
 ping ERE ROGAVIT

The beginning of the second line must have contained the name of the donor.²

The style of this painting, which is fairly preserved, is different from anything of the sort previously described. It is coarser, stiffer, more elementary, and undoubtedly belongs to a later age, when the traditions of Byzantine art were no longer a living influence in Rome. It may even be

¹ I have not come across any other example of Abbacyrus holding these objects, but they may be seen, e.g. in two Byzantine representations of another medical saint, Pantaleemon. Gori, *Thesaurus Vet. Dipt.*, iii. 354, T. IV. ; iv. 7, T.I.

² For the formula one may compare an ivory in the British Museum (described as German, 11th or 12th cent.) with *ob amor(em) cs Radegid(is) fieri rogavit*. See Spitzer Coll. Catalogue, Pl. IV. 58, and p. 13. Also the inscription on a well formerly at the church of S. Marco in Rome: *ac donis Dei et san(ct)i Marci Johannes presbyter fieri rogavit*. Armellini, *Chiese*, 462.

as late as the eleventh century. And this helps to explain its position. We have already noticed some indications of a raising of the floor of the vestibule in the last period in which it was used as a church (p. 95). Here too, when the niche, and probably altar, of St. Abbacyrus became buried, a new shrine was erected to him and his fellow-saint, John, at the level of the new floor and just above the old one.

In crossing to the opposite side of the building, there may be noticed, just to the right of the central doorway, the following letters rudely scratched on the painted surface of a fragment of plaster (78):

ΕΤΕΛΗΩΘΗΕΝΚΩCΣΙ

It is difficult not to think that this *graffito* was intended to indicate the date of the completion of the painted decoration of the vestibule. I give the following interpretation for what it is worth:

ἐτελεώθη ἐν Κ(υρι)ῷ ἔ(τει) 57' (6300).

As the era of Constantinople is probably the basis of calculation, this would give A.D. 792, or rather some years later, for probably there were some letters (perhaps stating also the month) after the last given above. In any case the style of the paintings in this part of the church (excepting the later additions) would suit very well the time of Hadrian I. (772–795).¹

In the passage leading from the vestibule to the right aisle of the church, a small *loculus*, only large enough for a child, has been excavated in the wall on the right (79). Part of the painted inscription on its front still remains, and may be conjecturally restored as follows:²

Hic dep(ositus) in quie Γ Ε ·
.... puer nomine Theod) RVS
..... filius qui vixit ann OS · V
m(enses) ... d(ies) ... Dep(ositus) sub DIE : ·
 Γ Ϛ

¹ A Greek translation of the Dialogues of St. Gregory in the Vatican Library is dated thus: ἐτελειώθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος αὐτῇ μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ εἰκάδι πρώτῃ ἔτους 577' (6308 = 800). *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1888, 302. A *graffito* would naturally be in a less elaborate form, but cf. the inscription recording a restoration of the church at Forza d'Agrò near Messina, which ends: *μνησθείη αὐτ(οῦ) δ(ύριο)ς ἔτ(ει) 577'* (6680 = 1171 A.D.). *Not. Scav.*, 1885, 87. The era of Constantinople was probably used at Rome; e.g. in the dedication by Theodotus at S. Angelo in Pescheria (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. 514. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 175). The interpretation suggested receives some support from the identification of the Pope in the picture described below (p. 103) with Hadrian.

² The fragmentary letters on the last line can hardly belong to a consular date, for the epitaph must be later than the end of the sixth century. Moreover the mark of contraction only belongs to the first of them.

On the right wall of the vestibule the following remains of painting can be made out. Beginning from the left, next to the angle of the wall, was a picture (80), apparently a full-length of some sacred personage, but only traces of the drapery remain. On the red frame, to the left, is part of the inscription (written perpendicularly) indicating a dedication by a lady. It may be completed thus :

ὑπὲρ ΑΦΕΣΕΩΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΩΝ ΤΗΣ Δούλης ΧΗC ¹

The first two of the great constructional niches above seem to have been decorated with full-length figures of saints, in two tiers. One may be seen on the right side of the rectangular (*i.e.* the first) niche, and others in the semi-circular one which follows. A passage has been cut through the wall below these, and under the next (or rectangular) niche is another, of narrower dimensions (81), the sides and roof of which have been painted with figures of saints which appear to be of the same date and style (if anything, rather worse) as the picture of Abbacyrus and John on the opposite side of the building (p. 98). On each of the side-walls were five full-length saints. There is hardly anything remaining of those on the left. Those on the right apparently all represented bishops, wearing the pallium decorated with Maltese crosses, and holding books. Over the head of the first from the left can be read ////ASIVS, and over the second $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ BA///// The remains of figures on the roof, which were painted so as to face one on leaving the church, show, to the left, a saint (half-length) in white drapery of the classical type, while the centre was occupied by a medallion, no doubt enclosing a head of Christ or the Virgin. These figures of saints are continued in the interior of the Temple of Augustus, but nothing of importance remains. The passage was cleared out as far back as 1885, when the figures were described by De Rossi.² His account may be given as supplementing and explaining the existing remains. On one side (the right) were the figures, with the names of

SCS · BLASIVS

SCS · BASILIVS

.... LAVREntius

.... CRISTOFARVS

¹ Analogous expressions are common in Greek dedications. E.g. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xi. (1890) 236. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 28(=Diehl, 10).

² *Bull. Arch. Crist.* (S. iv.), 1885, 142.

On the opposite side (the left) only one could be made out

SCS · BENEDICTVS

He attributed the paintings to the eleventh century.

High up on the wall above this passage, in the space to the left of the central (rectangular) niche, can be read SC/ CRESCENT}, with illegible traces of a second name, in poor letters like those under SS. Abbacyrus and John (p. 98). The picture, which has disappeared, belonged no doubt to the same date. Perhaps it represented the group of SS. Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia (June 15th), who were connected with an old church in Rome which was restored by Stephen III. in the eighth century.

There are considerable remains of painting, though much damaged, on the next section of the wall. Originally it was treated, below the level of the niches, with large pictures and a dado of drapery beneath. When the practice of burying in *loculi*, excavated in the wall, was introduced, part of the design was sacrificed. Thus, immediately to the right of the last-mentioned passage, two *loculi* were cut in the wall, destroying the existing painting, so that a new arrangement had to take place. The face of the lower *loculus* has disappeared. It cut through the original dado, and a new one was, no doubt, painted below it. Part of the front of the upper *loculus* remains, with an inscription (probably metrical) of six or seven lines painted on it, but only a few isolated letters can be made out. As it must have destroyed the original painting, the remaining space was filled up by two new and smaller pictures. That to the left (82) shows two saints (half-lengths) enclosed in a frame of conventional foliage (red) of the character of the acanthus. The figure to the left is a bearded monk in a dark blue cowl. His right hand is raised in front of him holding a small cross, the traces of which have disappeared. The figure on the right is a female with long hair, and undraped. The saints are, no doubt, the two ascetics, Antony and Mary of Egypt. The painting is coarse and elementary in style, and just like that of the saints in the passage (p. 101). The picture to the right of this (83), and immediately above the *loculus*, is much fainter, but shows a Christ enthroned, draped in red, and holding a book in his left hand, between two angels each with a staff in his left hand, and the right raised and open. At his feet, to the left, there seems to be the prostrate figure of a donor; the face looking out of the picture.

We next come to a picture which does not appear to be original, as the drapery dado below it, though of the same character, does not exactly correspond in level with the remains still further to the right which probably represent the earliest arrangement. The frame contained two full-length saints, but all that can be made out is that the one to the left represents a bishop (probably a Pope) with the pallium.

Next to this is a much larger and better preserved panel (84), which, as we have suggested, probably belongs to the original (perhaps eighth-century) decoration of the wall. Below it is a dado of hangings of the same design as that which we have frequently noticed in the inner church (p. 36). Of the picture itself enough is left to show the broad features of the design. The Virgin and Child are enthroned in the centre, with three saintly personages on either hand, the one to the extreme left being a contemporary Pope, and therefore the donor. The figures stand facing the spectator, in front of a red wall, finished at the top with a band of yellow, above which the background is blue (now black). Of the Madonna little is left, but she was attired in the manner of an Empress. Both she and the Child extend their right hands towards the group on the left, as if accepting the presentation of the donor. To the right of the Virgin's head is inscribed in two perpendicular lines

*m*ARIA REGINA

The next figure to the right is a Pope (short white beard), in a yellow chasuble and pallium with elongated Maltese crosses, holding a jewelled book in both hands. On either side of him is his name, which may be restored

SCS *ss*LBESTRVS

Only the last few letters now remain. Beyond him, on the right, are a pair of beardless saints in Byzantine official costume (white tunics, and red and blue tablia on the chlamys), holding small crosses in their right hands and crowns in the left. Their names must have been inscribed in the space to the right, where the plaster has now disappeared. Those of Sergius and Bacchus at once occur as a probable suggestion, and this conjecture is converted into practical certainty when we observe that round the neck of the figure to the left, who would be Sergius, the ring which, as we noticed on the previous occurrence of this pair of saints (p. 30), is their distinctive

mark, is clearly visible. In the case of the second figure (presumably Bacchus) the traces are much fainter.

The saint nearest to the Virgin on the left is a Pope. He holds a book with both hands, and the crosses on his pallium are of the second form given on p. 35. He is represented with a short beard. His name was inscribed in the regular form (cf. p. 62), *Scs . . . PP Romanus*; but only the end of the last word has survived (to the right). Next to him, on the left, a saint is introducing the donor to the Virgin. The saint is a youthful personage with a short beard, in Byzantine official costume (white tunic and yellow chlamys with red tablion), and his left hand is extended with the gesture of introduction. The donor, whose features have vanished (he may have been beardless), holds by its back in a slanting position a jewelled and clasped book. His name was inscribed to the left of the square nimbus behind his head, in the same form as that of Paul I. in the apse (p. 73). The letters which remain are arranged as follows:—

		P	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> square nimbus </div>
		A	
I	I		
S	A		
S	N		
I	V		
M	S		
V			
S			

From the style of painting we may feel fairly certain that the picture is not later than the eighth century. The only Popes of that age whose names end in *anus* are the two Stephens (the predecessor and successor of Paul I.) and Hadrian (772–795). The letter which precedes the A appears to have been an I, and this is decisive for Hadrian. The whole will then read

[*Sanct*]issimus [*Hadr*]ianus [*Pa*]pa [*Romanus*]

The last word was perhaps inscribed, as in the case of Paul I., horizontally above the nimbus.

If Hadrian be the person intended, we may conjecture that the saint who introduces him is his name-saint, an officer martyred at Nicomedia

under Maximian, and the patron of the church which, since the seventh century, occupied the old Curia in the Forum. That Hadrian did attach some importance to the connexion may be seen from the fact that he raised the church to the rank of a *diaconia*, and was a liberal benefactor to it.¹ St. Hadrian would properly be represented in the manner which appears in this painting.² Further, if the Pope be Hadrian, there was a peculiar appropriateness in introducing the figures of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, for when the 'Book of the Popes' describes Hadrian's rebuilding of their church in the Forum, it states that he had a special devotion to these martyrs.³ Finally we may notice that it is in an inscription almost certainly of the time of Hadrian, that we find again in Rome the title of *Regina* applied to the Virgin.⁴

The intention of the picture has still to be explained. It will be noticed that Pope Hadrian does not hold the book upright in front of him, as in the conventional representation of bishops, and as the two canonized Popes do in this picture. He is putting it forward; and therefore it is clear that he is presenting the volume to the church, in the person of its patroness, for use in its services, and the picture is a commemoration of the fact. The 'Book of the Popes,' in its long list of more costly presents made by Hadrian to the Roman churches, has not thought it worth while to record any gifts of books; but several such are mentioned in this period, and the volume shown in the picture may well have been a copy of the Gospels *cum tabulis argenteis*, like that given by Leo IV. to the church of the saint of his name.⁵

When the floor of the vestibule was uncovered in the summer of 1901 it was found that almost the whole area was occupied by graves constructed on a regular plan, in rows, so as to utilise the whole of the available space. The part nearest the entrance, however, had not been completely taken up at the time when the building was abandoned. Though no objects of

¹ *Lib. Pont.* i. 509.

² The Byzantine Guide in Didron's version gives the description, 'jeune, barbe arrondie' (p. 392). According to the 'Acts' he was one τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς τάξεως (*Acta SS.* Sept. vol. iii. 220). I am inclined to think that, like Sergius, he had a ring round his neck; so that it may have been intended to represent him as being a member of the Imperial Guard. But the disappearance of the paint has left very uncertain traces.

³ *Lib. Pont.* i. 512: *misericordia motus, ob eorum martyrum amorem.*

⁴ The deed of gift by the *dispensator* Eustathius at S. Maria in Cosmedin already referred to (p. 44, n. 2). It begins thus: *Haec tibi praeclara virgo caelestis regina.*

⁵ *Lib. Pont.*, ii. 132. Cf. 128, and i. 432. The best known instance is the inscription in S. Clemente recording the gift to the church of a Bible by the presbyter Gregorius in the time of Zacharias. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 123, 172, T. iv. 2.

importance were found with the skeletons which the graves contained,¹ we may assume that they belonged to the same period as the main decorations of the building, *i.e.* the eighth and possibly the succeeding century. Most of the graves, each of which held several bodies, were constructed of ancient materials and on the following plan (Fig. 7). The walls, which were of course common to two parallel graves, were built of brick and fragments of stone and marble. The floor, in the best preserved cases, was formed by a single slab, regularly pierced with holes for drainage. In other cases

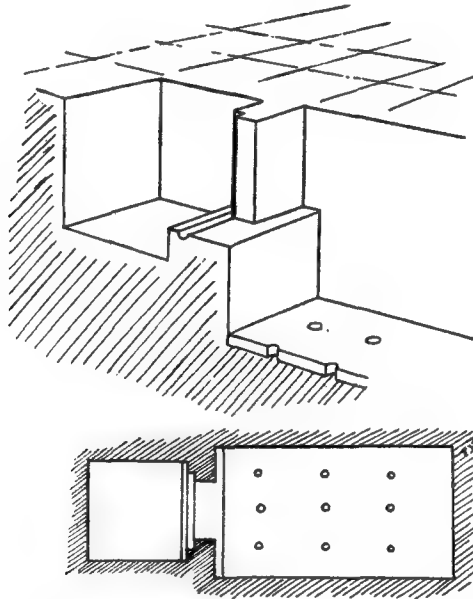


FIG. 7.—SECTION AND PLAN OF GRAVES IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

the floor was paved with large square tiles. Each grave, lying, as it did in most cases, parallel to the axis of the building, opened at the end nearest to the entrance (*i.e.* the N.E.) into a square chamber which we may suppose was covered by a movable slab in the floor of the church, so that bodies could be introduced through it without removing the pavement above the grave itself.² In one case at least this chamber was approached by two or three steps down from the level of the floor above, and in

¹ Generally speaking, all the graves in and about the church were found to have been rifled in later times.

² The same method was followed in Rome till recent times. The square slabs closing the opening are a familiar feature in the floors of Roman churches.

another it opened into a grave at either end ; but the normal arrangement was for each grave to have its separate entrance. The latter opened into the grave by a door formed by a threshold or sill and jambs of marble or travertine, grooved so as to receive a slab which could move up or down as it was necessary to open or close the grave.¹ One other peculiarity was to be noticed in a few cases, viz. graves divided into two stories by a marble slab supported by projecting tiles built into the side-walls.

We have said that the graves lay, generally, parallel to the axis of the building, but their constructors were obliged to take account of the *piscina* (p. 23) which occupied so large a part of the area ; and the graves within it, making use of the support of its walls where possible, followed its direction.² Those outside of it, on the other hand, were orientated according to the lines of the building. It may be added that one grave of this type was found in the inner church, in the chapel of S. Quiricus. The square opening into it was just in front of the side-door into the Sanctuary.

The graves which we have been describing were not the only ones to be seen. In one case an ancient marble sarcophagus (plain) had been used as a coffin, placed cross-wise with reference to the other graves, but filling up a convenient vacant space between the ends of two of them. In the part of the area to the left of the entrance another type of tomb was found, marking perhaps a later and more barbaric epoch. The sides, as before, were of rough brickwork, and they were paved with large square tiles. But they were covered by a gabled roof of ancient roofing tiles, the junctions at the apex and sides being protected by semi-circular coping tiles, after the manner familiar to Roman building. Tombs of this construction (known as 'a capanna') are common in the neighbourhood of Rome.

The Vestibule must have shared, though probably at a later date, the fate of the inner church, and been buried under the ruins which came down from the Palatine. A desperate attempt was made to keep the roof up by means of a very substantial pier of masonry (now removed) erected

¹ There appear to be similar graves in the Basilica at Salona, which was destroyed in A.D. 639. Mr. T. G. Jackson (*Dalmatia*, ii. 90) describes 'a sepulchral vault with an entrance below the floor on the east side, accessible from a small square pit lined with stone. The actual entrance of the vault was closed by a stone sliding hatch running in grooves, which could be raised by an iron ring.' Outside the Basilica (p. 92) 'there are several sepulchral chambers like that described within the church, with a little shallow well or pit in front of the entrance, lined with slabs which are joined with lead dowels.' In at least one case the sliding hatch is perfect with the iron ring for raising it.

² The area of the *piscina* has now been completely cleared.

³ Cf. e.g. *Notizie d. Scavi*, 1886, 454 ; *Buil. Comm.* 1887, 50.

in the middle of the building (85), partly of blocks brought from the sub-structure of the Temple of Castor. Its foundation cut through the series of graves in that part of the floor.

As we leave the vestibule by the main entrance it can be seen that the porticus to the left was, like all the precincts of the church, much used for burials. The piers nearest to the entrance have been built up so as to form a chapel-like compartment, on the walls of which are traces of decorative painting. In the angle, two terra-cotta sarcophagi were found buried, and in the main wall a *loculus* (86) has been excavated, the front of which has preserved more of its painted inscription than the similar burial places within the church. The letters are of a good type, black on a white ground; and the inscription was enclosed in a frame of boldly drawn acanthus foliage, exactly like that round the picture of SS. Antony and Mary of Egypt described above (p. 101), and is therefore probably contemporary with it. We saw that that picture did not belong to the original or eighth-century decoration of the building, and is to be classed with work which may be as late as the tenth or eleventh century. The remains of the inscription are as follows :—

+CR IV
CVENIETI R
TERRIS ESVR
IVS M
DI S

This was, apparently, an epitaph of four lines in elegiacs ending with the formula *dep(ositus)* or *decessit* followed by the date. I have not been able to identify these lines with any known Christian epitaph, but it is clear that the idea expressed was that of the resurrection of the deceased at the Last Day. A Spanish inscription of the seventh or eighth century may be quoted in illustration :

*ut cum flamma vorax veniet comburere terras
cetibus sanctorum merito sociatus resurgam.*¹

¹ Huebner, *Inscr. Hisp. Chr.* 158=Buecheler, *Carmina Epigraphica*, i. 724. For similar expressions (not very common in early Christian epitaphs) cf. also in Buecheler nos. 715, 756, 1435.

Above this was another *loculus* with a similar inscription, but only the lower edge of some of the letters of the last line (giving, no doubt, the date) remains.

The side-wall to the left was painted with panels representing coloured marbles, flanking a cruciform compartment containing a design of arabesque foliage with grapes and fruit, executed in a sketchy style, in natural colours on a white ground.

The space enclosed between the front of the main building, the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, and the Lacus Iuturnae, formed part of the precincts of the Church, and is occupied by a building of late construction (L). It may have been a subordinate church, like the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, but the architectural remains are too scanty for any inferences to be drawn from them here. The only objects of interest found here were a third-century sarcophagus in the part nearest to the Shrine of Juturna (apparently in a passage-way), and, immediately in front of the entrance to the Forty Martyrs, an isolated grave with its floor formed by a pierced marble slab like those described in the vestibule (87). Its covering was an inscribed and dated marble slab which had been taken from some older grave. It was broken in two either before it was so used, or possibly by some later marauders, and half of it was reversed. The inscription occupies the upper part of the slab which is furnished all round with a well-designed moulding.

+HIC REQVISCITINPACEAMANTIVS aurIFEXQVIVIXIT&
PLVSMINANN&L&DEPOSITVSSVB&XIKal MARTIASQVINQVIES
PC DN<VSTINI PP AVG IND QVART&

Hic requi(e)scit in pace Amantiu[s aur]ifex qui vixit plus min(us) ann(is) L, depositus sub d(ie) XI Kal(endas) Martias, quinquies p(ost) c(onsulatum) d(omini) n(ostri) [I]ustini p(er)p(etui) Aug(usti), ind(ictione) quarta.

The fifth year after the consulship of Justin II. (for Justin I. was not recognised in Italy) is A.D. 572.¹ Considering the social position of a person who would have a carefully engraved tombstone of this character, *aurifex* is the only possible restoration of the description of Amantius. Remembering the existence of a number of ancient epitaphs of persons connected with the goldsmiths' and jewellery business, and described as

¹ De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* i. pp. 609, 613.

de Sacra Via,¹ one may be permitted to fancy that the trade may still have continued in the same district in the sixth century, and that Amantius was buried in the precincts of the church hard by. Though the grave in which it was found may be later, it seems not improbable that a slab of this character and date may have been taken from a sepulchre in the ground in front of the church. The practice of interment within the city had begun at least half a century before the death of Amantius.² If we can believe that the tombstone originally belonged to the church, it is the earliest dated monument that we possess connected with it.

IV.—THE CHAPEL OF THE FORTY MARTYRS.

The space between the ancient building converted into the church of S. Maria Antiqua and the shrine of Juturna is occupied by a small structure of Hadrianic brickwork which may originally have been a temple (M).³ It is placed at right angles to the church, and its breadth is greater than its length. In the back wall is an apse. It was converted into a church in the Byzantine age, and decorated with wall-paintings which, so far as the much damaged remains allow one to judge, do not differ substantially in style from those in S. Maria, and may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the eighth century. From the most prominent subject among these paintings we have given it the name of the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, but there does not appear to be any documentary trace of an independent church with that dedication in this part of Rome. We must assume, therefore, that it was regarded as forming an integral part of S. Maria Antiqua.

Standing opposite to the entrance, one can see that the façade (which it must be remembered was inside the building described above, p. 108) was painted. The only remains are on the right. On the face of the pier or buttress, immediately to the right of the entrance, are traces of the full-

¹ *C.I.L.* vi. 9207, *aurifex de Sacra Via* ; 9212, *de Sacra Via auri acceptor* ; 9214, *de Sacra Via auri vestrix*.

² See e.g. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 325.

³ The question may be asked whether this is not the temple of Minerva mentioned in the grants of citizenship to soldiers (*diplomata militaria*) between A.D. 93 and the time of Diocletian. The originals are said to be fixed *in muro post templum divi Aug. ad Minervam*. *C.I.L.* iii. pt. 2, p. 859 *sqq.*

length figure of a bishop (88), vested in a yellow chasuble with the pallium over a dalmatic, and holding in front of him an opened scroll on which we recognise the same quotation from the "Tome" of St. Leo which we found in the hands of the first figure to the left of the apse in the church (p. 69). The bishop before us then was St. Leo, and he was no doubt balanced by another Father on the corresponding buttress to the left. The fragments of the quotation which have survived here are as follows :

κοιν-
 υι ἰας ὅπερ εἶ-
 δΗον ἔσχη-
 ΚΕΝ τοῦ μὲν
 ΛΟΓΟΝΚΑΤΕΡ
 γΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ
 ὅπρ ΡΕCΤΗΝΤοῦ
 λόγου ΤΟΝΔΕCΟ
 ΜΑΤΟCΕΚΤελ-
 ΟΥΝΤος

On each of the sides of the recess to the right of this were the busts of four saints in medallions. Only the lowest on the right is at all recognisable, and the name has in part remained, + Ο Ἀγιος ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΣ. He is represented with a long beard, as in the church (p. 31), and the painting is in exactly the same style. Nothing is left on the back wall of the recess. On the face of the pier (89) to the right of the recess are faint traces of, apparently, a replica of the 'Descent into Hell' in the side-door (J) of the inner church (p. 37). The outlines of the figure of Christ are quite clear.

Ascending the two marble steps at the threshold we enter the chapel and pass round it from left to right. On the space immediately to the left of the door are faint traces of a large picture with life-sized figures which possibly represented a Virgin and Child with a saint introducing a donor (90). On the extreme left is a bishop (no doubt a Pope) with the pallium, holding a book. To the left of his head are traces of what may have been a square nimbus, but doubtful. Next comes a figure draped in white with bare feet, *i.e.* a saint of the early Christian age. Only the lower corner of the right of the picture remains. It seems to represent the foot-

stool of a throne. Below is a dado of drapery of the same character as that in the church.¹

The left side-wall of the chapel is covered above the drapery dado with a single subject which extends as far as a niche at the upper end. It is a long row of nimbed saints, standing facing the spectator, with the heads of a second row appearing behind them (91). Both from their number (there were originally twenty-six in the front row, and fourteen at the back), and from the painting in the apse to be described presently, it is clear that they are the Forty Martyrs. In the centre of the upper row is a bust of Christ in a medallion. The martyrs are all represented in Byzantine official costume, and hold a small cross in front of them with the right hand. They are of different ages, some beardless, others with black or white beards.² Above are traces of the frames of six oblong scenes, which may have told the story. The niche already mentioned contained, apparently, full-length figures of saints. A small *loculus* has been cut in the wall below it.

Of the end-wall of the chapel, the space to the left of the apse only retains the painting of its lower part, *i.e.* the dado, but this is fairly perfect (92). It shows, on a white ground, two (originally there must have been three) large Latin crosses of gold studded with jewels, enclosed in wreaths or crowns. Ornaments are suspended from the arms and from chains which unite the ends of the cross, and the centre is formed by a medallion containing, in the cross to the left, a head of Christ. In the other case the centre is damaged, but the indications point to a head of the Virgin. On either side of the base of the cross is a palm branch. The whole arrangement no doubt represents the hanging crowns and crosses (generally containing lights) which were a regular ornament of churches of the period. Above the wreaths and between them is represented a small jewelled crown (like the Iron Crown of Monza) suspended by three chains. In the corresponding space below, two lambs stand facing one another, while the angle on the right is filled up by a peacock.

We next come to the apse which is occupied by a representation of the Forty Martyrs undergoing their martyrdom of exposure in a lake near Sebaste in Armenia (93). The right-hand portion is the best preserved. The figures, like a crowd facing the spectator, stand, not on the ice, as in

¹ Federici (*l.c.* p. 46) gives some *graffiti* here, but I confess that I can make nothing out of the traces on the wall.

² This agrees with the *Byzantine Manual*. Didron, 326 *sq.*

some forms of the legend,¹ but immersed up to the knees in the water of the lake. They are nude, save for loin-cloths, and their hands are raised in front of the breast with the palms outwards in the attitude of prayer. The heads which remain are all beardless. In the right-hand corner of the picture is represented the incident of the member of the band whose courage failed him, and who is stepping out of the water into the tent (the legend says it was a warm bath) prepared on the shore of the lake. Beside it are traces of two guards. The legend gives names to all the forty,² and these names were originally inscribed here above the figures to which they belonged. The first to the right is complete, ΚΥΡΙΩΝ, the Kyrion or Quirion of the lists. Above it is /ΚΔΙΚΟΣ, *i.e.* Ecdicius. Next to these, to the left, are the fragments,

CEY////
 ΦΙΑ////
 ///ΓΕΟC

which appear to correspond to the names Severianus, Theophilus (probably in the form Philotheos), and Angias,³ given in the 'Acta.'

The dado of the apse is painted with a rude imitation of marble incrustation in five panels, alternately pink and yellow. The vault is treated with a decorative design of rosettes in large circles, the intermediate spaces being filled up by arabesques. The effect is that of ornament of the classical period. Where the red background behind the Martyrs has broken away there are traces of an earlier stratum of painting, but nothing definite can be made out as to its character.

To the right of the apse a platform, some four feet high and two feet broad, extends as far as the angle of the chapel. There are no apparent means of access to it. The wall behind it was painted from the level of its floor upwards (94). First comes a very high dado of painted drapery. It is represented as finished off at its extremity on the left by a panel or border with small figures of two saints. The lower of these shows a lay personage in a tunic and long cloak open in front. The figure is broken away above the middle. Of the upper figure only the right side of the nimbus is left with traces of the name, unfortunately too fragmentary to

¹ *E.g.* in the Roman Breviary, March 10th.

² *Acta SS.* March, vol. ii. 12. Didron, *Manuel*, 326.

³ Apparently the 'Aggée' who appears in Didron's version of the Byzantine Guide (p. 327).

give any result. The only recognisable letters are an **A** followed by a **T**. Above the dado was a row of full-length saints, possibly attending on a central seated Madonna. All that can be made out from the very faint traces is, on the extreme left a figure in white drapery, and next to it, turning towards the centre, and perhaps offering something with covered hands, the lower portion of a figure in classical costume with sandaled feet. On the extreme right is an ecclesiastic in a chestnut-coloured chasuble, facing the spectator, and next to him is a fragment of a white-robed figure with bare feet.

The wall of the chapel on the right was painted, above the usual drapery dado, with a history in oblong framed scenes. There were at least two tiers of these, but of the upper one only indications of the frames remain. The lower tier is preserved to some extent, but the traces are very faint, and as everything in the nature of inscriptions has disappeared, an attempt to identify the subject becomes difficult in the absence of any obvious indications in the representation. The first scene preserved, viz. that on the extreme left (95), must belong to the middle of the story. Two male figures are moving towards the right. The first has his right hand raised, as if in surprise, and his companion, who apparently holds a staff in his right hand, points to something with his left. From the opposite direction two animals, perhaps lions, are coming towards them down the slope of a mountain. This scene partly extends into the niche in the wall, and the next occupies the remainder of it (96). Here we see an angel moving quickly towards the right accompanied by another personage. There is a background of mountains. The next scene (97) has a house in the left corner, in front of which three persons are standing behind a table. The one in the middle extends his right hand. From the right a figure is bringing some object to them, perhaps a wine-skin or bottle. In the succeeding panel (98) two mules or horses, each laden with two large bottles, are moving from the left. In the centre are the remains of a draped figure. Beyond this point nothing recognisable remains, but the scenes were continued along the wall, perhaps as far as the entrance.¹

Close under the wall to the right of the entrance was buried below the

¹ In their uncertain condition it is hardly worth while to attempt to identify the scenes: otherwise it might have been suggested that two of them might be incidents in the life of St. Antony, viz., the destruction of his crops by wild animals, and the journey which he made to visit his Monasteries.

pavement a marble sarcophagus containing several bodies (99). It was originally made (probably in the second century A.D.) for a Jewish official and his family, and has no doubt been brought here from some Jewish cemetery outside the walls. On a panel in the centre of the front is inscribed

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙ
ΤΑΙΣΕΙΛΙΚΙΣ
ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ
ΚΕΩΦΡΟΝΙΑΣ
ΒΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΚΕΜ
ΡΙΑΚΕΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥΙΟΙ
ΑΥΤΩΝ

Ἐνθάδε κ(ε)ῖται Σείλικις γερουσιάρχης κ(αὶ) Σωφρόνια σύμβιος αὐτοῦ
κ(αὶ) Μαρία κ(αὶ) Νικάνδρος υἱοὶ αὐτῶν.

A good deal of the pavement of the chapel is preserved. It is very barbarous, made up of irregular fragments of marble, porphyry, and serpentine, with rude attempts to arrange them in panels bordered by strips of white marble.

APPENDIX.

THE 'DESCENT INTO HELL' IN BYZANTINE ART.

THE presentation of the subject known as the 'Descent into Hell' in Byzantine art is based on the account in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the earliest literary form of the legend developed from the suggestion of 1 Peter, iii. 19. There Christ is described as trampling upon Satan, and taking Adam by the hand.¹ The regular Byzantine name for the scene is ἡ ἀνάστασις, 'the resurrection,' probably an allusion to Matthew xxvii. 52.² By the time when the Byzantine Manual of Painting (p. 12) was composed, the treatment

¹ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 370.

² Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley (*Monastery of St. Luke*, 48) are under a misapprehension in thinking that the name is a mistake as applied to the scene in the eleventh-century mosaic in the church of St. Luke of Stiris. They have misunderstood Diehl, to whom they refer for confirmation (*Couvent de St. Luc*, 42.)

had become very elaborate, and the old name had been given up.¹ But till the eleventh or twelfth century the regular design shows a symmetrical composition (specially adapted for a lunette) in which Christ stands in the centre, facing the spectator, between two groups. In one hand he holds a cross, while with the other he raises Adam from the tomb. Behind Adam appears Eve. This group is balanced by two or more figures (generally David and Solomon) rising from a tomb on the other side of the Saviour, under whose feet the broken fragments of the sepulchres, or, more rarely, the prostrate



FIG. 8.—THE DESCENT INTO HELL. (Harl. MS. 1810.)

figure of Satan, are represented. This type, of which the examples are numerous,² is represented in Fig. 8, taken from a twelfth-century Greek MS. of the Gospels in the British Museum.³ The figure behind the kings is St. John the Baptist.

This treatment seems to be a development, for reasons of symmetry, from a simpler and earlier form in which only Christ and Adam and Eve appear. In representations of this type the Saviour stands sideways as he approaches and takes Adam by the hand.

¹ Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 319.

² *E.g.* Schultz and Barnsley, *l.c.* Fig. 39; d'Agincourt, T. xiii. 21 (doors of S. Paolo fuori, Rome), lvii. 6, lix. 6 (MSS. in Vatican); Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* iii. T. xxxii.; *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1888, 316 (eleventh-century MS. at Messina). Cf. Diehl, *Couvent de St. Luc*, 42, for other instances.

³ Harl. 1810, f. 206 b.

Though he sometimes appears with the Cross, it is clear that the roll which other examples show in his hand is the older motive. The prostrate figure of Hades under his feet seems to be a regular adjunct of the design.

It is this simpler and earlier type which appears in the picture of S. Maria Antiqua described above (p. 37). Fig. 9 gives an idea of its outlines. If our dates with regard to the church are correct it cannot be later than the ninth century, but there is no reason to separate it from the other paintings of the eighth century in that part of the building. Indeed, so far as its ruined state allows of any definite opinion, its style would suggest that it belongs rather to the earlier than to the later series of decorations. Probably then it is one of the earliest versions of the subject which we possess. For analogies with its



FIG. 9.—'THE DESCENT INTO HELL.' S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

special characteristics we may compare the following examples. (1) Now that Prof. Venturi has restored the sculptured columns of the ciborium in St. Mark's at Venice to their proper place as works of early Christian art, not later than the sixth century, we find on one of them the oldest version of the scene which has come down to us.¹ The elements are even simpler, for the only figures are those of Christ and Adam, whom he takes by the hand. Under the feet of Christ appear two heads, perhaps the Satan and Hades of the Gospel of Nicodemus. The left hand of Christ appears to be unoccupied; perhaps it originally held a roll. The (later) inscription describes the scene as *expoliatio i(n)feri*. In the next scene the bodily resurrection of the saints appears with the in-

¹ Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, i. 444 sqq. Fig. 266 (p. 279). Cf. Lowrie, *Christian Art*, &c., 269 note. The sculptures are also reproduced in Garrucci, vi. T. 498.

scription *surgu(n)t corp(or)a s(an)c(t)or(um)*, explaining, as noticed above (p. 114) the Greek name of the *Anastasis*.

(2) Owing to the connexion of time and place, it is peculiarly interesting to observe how the scene was represented in the mosaics of John VII.'s famous chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's. We have to rely for our knowledge of them on the drawings made before the destruction of the chapel in the seventeenth century. In spite of their



FIG. 10.—THE DESCENT INTO HELL. (Add. MS. 19352.)

deficiencies it is clear (*e.g.* from the one preserved in the Archives of the Vatican Chapter¹) that the representation followed the simple and early type. Christ, without the cross (here again the hand may well have held a roll), and with the prostrate figure of the devil under his feet, apparently removes a chain from Adam's hand. But this may be a misunderstanding on the part of the draughtsman.

(3) That mine of Byzantine iconography, the eleventh-century Psalter in the British Museum,² to which we have often had occasion to refer, contains three representations of

¹ Garrucci, iv. T. 280, 8.

² Add. 19352. The MS. is described in Dr. Kenyon's *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, No. vii. Cf. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iv. 7 sqq.

the subject. One (f. 146 *b*) is of a more elaborate and independent character. But in the other two cases (f. 82 *b*, 83 *a*. Ps. lxvii.=lxviii. in the English version) we find just the elements of the scene which appear in the painting of S. Maria Antiqua. The first of these is produced in Fig. 10. Christ, holding a roll, takes Adam by the hand. Eve stands behind him, and below is the gigantic prostrate figure of Hades. In one case Christ stands on the latter, and in the other Adam and Eve. The chief difference is that Christ is surrounded by the vesica, and is represented as stationary, and not moving forwards as in the Roman picture. The figure of Hades (no name is given to it) is also very much larger, and its position is not the same. On the other hand the crouching figure under the foot of Christ in S. Maria Antiqua curiously resembles in attitude (half-seated, half-reclining, with one leg bent under) the Hades from which the soul of Lazarus is ascending, in another miniature of the same MS. (Fig. 11¹). There too the name is given, *ὁ ᾍδης*. He appears to be holding other souls in his arms, whereas in the picture



FIG. 11.—HADES. (Add. MS. 19352.)

of S. Maria he is lifting the grave-stone ; but it seems that both figures must have come from a common type.

(4) We have already had occasion to notice the importation of Byzantine subjects into England through Rome (p. 17), and it is interesting to find that this early type of the 'Descent into Hell' also reached our country. It is seen on a sculptured slab, discovered many years ago in the Chapter House of Bristol Cathedral, forming the cover of a mediaeval coffin. Probably it had, originally, no connexion with the church. Indeed it must be older than the foundation of the monastery (1142), for its style recalls that of Anglo-Saxon sculptures of the eleventh century.² The scene appears to be complete ; and it clearly belongs to the earlier type described above, and in its general features is closely allied to the picture in S. Maria Antiqua. It is reproduced in Fig. 12. Christ,

¹ F. 31 *b*. The same scene appears in the Barberini Psalter (f. 44). Cf. *Mélanges*, De Rossi, 278.

² E.g. the well-known reliefs from Selsey in Chichester Cathedral, of which there are casts at S. Kensington.

advancing from the left with one foot on the head of the recumbent Hades, raises by the hand the nude figure of Adam. Only one later feature is introduced, the Cross instead of the roll in the hand of Christ. Details of this sort may easily be interchanged, and in the



S. B. Bolas and Co., Photo.]

FIG. 12.—THE DESCENT INTO HELL.
(Sculpture in Bristol Cathedral.)

same way in a fragment of a representation of the scene among the mosaics of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, though the general type is the later symmetrical one, Christ holds the roll and not the Cross.¹

¹ Garrucci, iv. T. 289, 2. It is not certain that the fragment belongs to the time of Paschal I.

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